

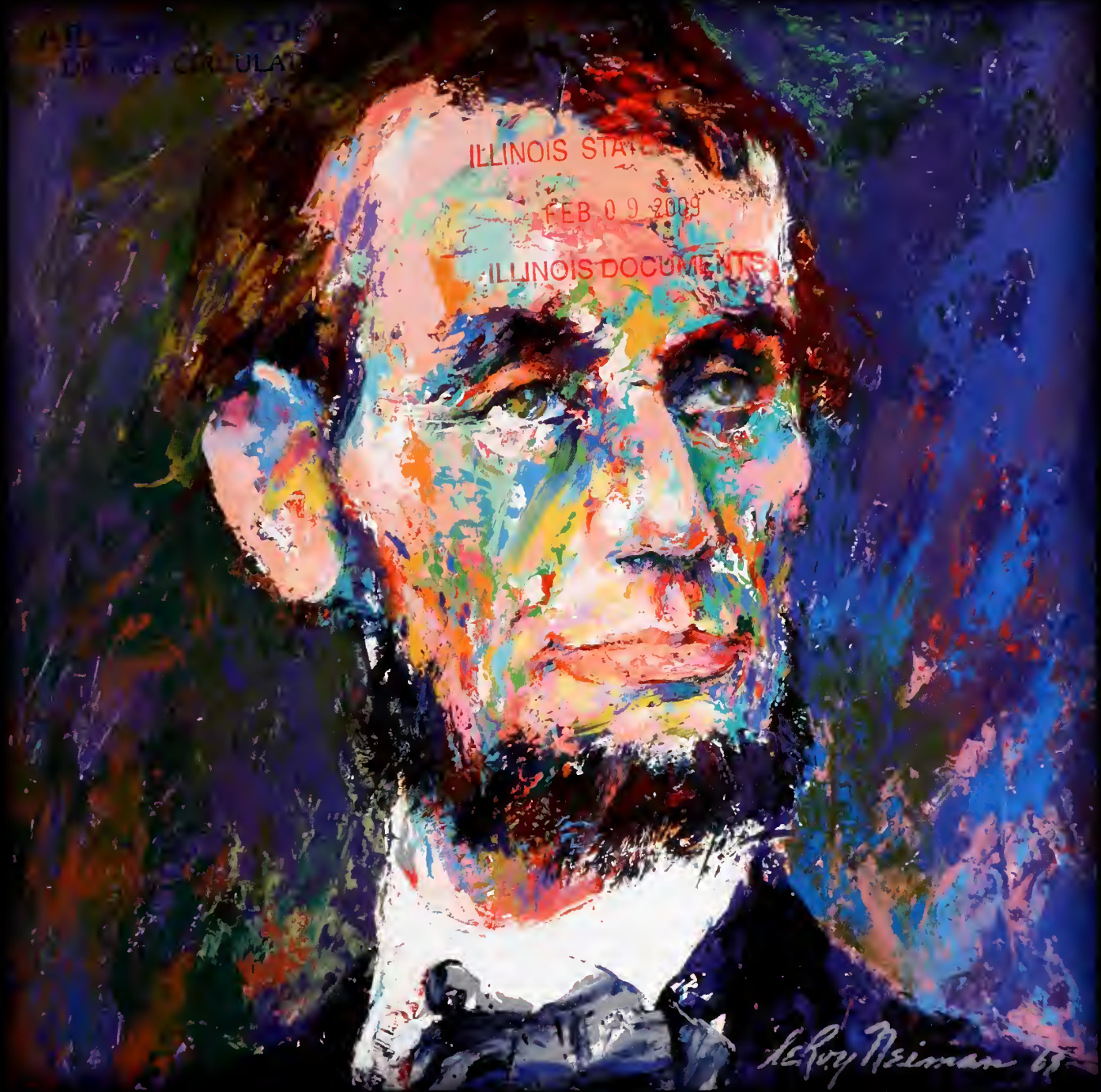
320.9
LI
.35: no.2
009: Feb.
.1

E:
Quinn

February 2009 \$5.00

Illinois Issues

A publication of the University of Illinois at Springfield



ILLINOIS STATE
 FEB 09 2009
 ILLINOIS DOCUMENTS

What made Lincoln Lincoln?

The 2009 Paul Simon Essay





We don't want to blow our own horn, **BUT...**

Illinois Issues magazine continues its award-winning ways, receiving three Capitolbeat Awards at the 2008 Conference for the Association of Capitol Reporters and Editors

Magazines – Single Report



Bethany Jaeger, Statehouse Bureau Chief, for
“Clinic in a School” (September 2007)

Daniel Vock, Contributor, for “Immigrant Friendly” (April 2008)



Magazines – Column

Bethany Jaeger, Statehouse Bureau Chief,
for “State of the State”



Illinois Issues A Magazine on a Mission!

To provide fresh, provocative analysis of public policy in Illinois, specifically focusing on state government and politics.

“I really like everything about the publication – the feature stories, photos, statistics. It allows me to become educated on a huge variety of topics I wouldn't normally seek out.”

“Illinois Issues should be required reading in ALL state agencies!!”

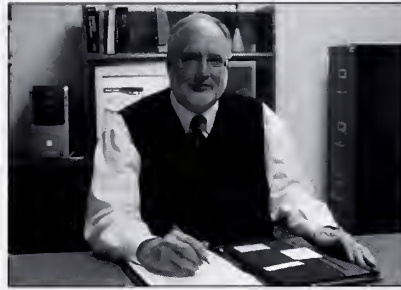
(Comments from 2006 Readership Survey)

ENGAGE in public policy discourse in Illinois by subscribing to *Illinois Issues*, the state's leading public affairs magazine since 1975.

Association, Corporation and Government Partnerships and/or bulk subscription rates are now available.

Contact **Illinois Issues** at 217-206-6094 or <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

Dana Heipel



**Essay on Lincoln also honors
a founding father of *Illinois Issues***

YES! I want to subscribe to *Illinois Issues*

Save the hassle of renewing annually AND save money with a multi-year subscription!!

Please check one:

Three years – 30 issues - \$105 **OR** One year – 10 issues - \$39.95

OR

Two years – 20 issues - \$72

Name _____

Business/Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Daytime Phone _____

E-mail _____

Payment enclosed Bill me later

Payment enclosed with check payable to UIS/*Illinois Issues*

To order by credit card call the *Illinois Issues* office at (217) 206-6084.

For faster service, call 1-800-508-0266.

Visit *Illinois Issues* on the web at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

Included with your subscription, one copy of the most useful Illinois directory published.



2009 Roster of State Government Officials

This popular directory lists the names, addresses and phone numbers of elected and appointed officials in all three branches of government.

To order more copies of the Roster see <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu/roster/roster.html>



readers once he achieved the nation's highest office.

I won't attempt here to cast my insignificant thoughts about the Great Emancipator into Simon's and Guelzo's shadows because I only came to learn about Lincoln later in life. In fact, I'm

straight from his log cabin, not as a relatively wealthy central Illinois lawyer and politician. Despite my early ignorance, I quickly began to learn more about him, often simply through osmosis. In Springfield, Lincoln is omnipresent and unavoidable.

nuge billboard featuring Lincoln's modernized visage — a makeover that was controversial early on to many purists — inviting them to “Walk Where He Walked.”

Now, of course, there's the \$150 million Abraham Lincoln Presidential

B0209



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



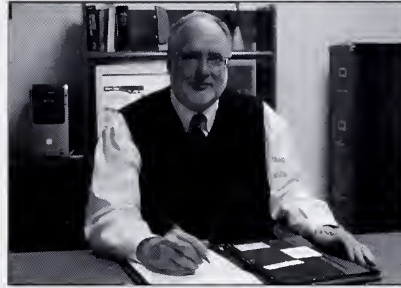
BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 1901 SPRINGFIELD, IL
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

Illinois Issues

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD
PO Box 19243
Springfield, IL 62794-9980



Dana Heupel



Essay on Lincoln also honors a founding father of *Illinois Issues*

by Dana Heupel

We are honored this month, which marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of our 16th president, to publish an essay by one of the nation's most distinguished Lincoln scholars, Allen Guelzo, the Henry R. Luce III Professor of the Civil War Era at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania.

Guelzo's work for our magazine, while focusing on why Lincoln's legacy endures, also honors another great Illinoisian, the late U.S. Sen. Paul Simon, one of the founders of *Illinois Issues*. Funded through contributions from our readers, our periodic Paul Simon Essay delves into topics about which Simon was passionate, with the intent of examining their moral and philosophical cornerstones. Simon himself wrote about how Lincoln's time in the Illinois legislature prepared him for greatness, and Guelzo's essay analyzes the qualities that made Lincoln one of history's most-revered leaders once he achieved the nation's highest office.

I won't attempt here to cast my insignificant thoughts about the Great Emancipator into Simon's and Guelzo's shadows because I only came to learn about Lincoln later in life. In fact, I'm

somewhat embarrassed to admit that when I moved to Springfield 17 years ago, I didn't even realize he was buried in the city.

I've always been enamored with politics and government, and I came here from Indiana by way of California to work for a newspaper in the state capital. Not long after I arrived, I telephoned a California friend and mentioned that Lincoln's tomb was just down the street. She seemed more impressed to learn that Springfield was the embarkation point of the Donner Party, whose story occupies a significant — albeit gruesome — place in California history. I, however, was enthused enough by the Lincoln connection to begin my own educational journey.

In my defense, I did know before I moved here that Lincoln hailed from Springfield, but I believed the popular myth that he ascended to the presidency straight from his log cabin, not as a relatively wealthy central Illinois lawyer and politician. Despite my early ignorance, I quickly began to learn more about him, often simply through osmosis. In Springfield, Lincoln is omnipresent and unavoidable.

Aside from his tomb, which is a state-run historic site in the city's largest cemetery, there is Lincoln's home, which the federal government manages near downtown. Lincoln's law office, another state historic site, is across from the Old State Capitol, where Lincoln served as a legislator and proclaimed, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The train depot, where Lincoln spoke fondly about Springfield when he left for Washington, is operated as a historic site by the newspaper where I worked. I parked my car next to it every day for years. And a true Lincoln aficionado can even visit his family's pew in the First Presbyterian Church.

Lincoln's New Salem, the reconstructed village of log cabins where he lived as a young adult, is a 30-minute drive northwest. And for years, as travelers entered the city from the south on Interstate 55, they couldn't miss a huge billboard featuring Lincoln's modernized visage — a makeover that was controversial early on to many purists — inviting them to "Walk Where He Walked."

Now, of course, there's the \$150 million Abraham Lincoln Presidential

ADVISORY BOARD

CHAIR

Lawrence N. Hausen, vice president, Joyce Foundation, Chicago.

VICE CHAIR

Mike Lawrence, director, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

MEMBERS

MarySue Barrett, president, Metropolitan Planning Council, Chicago.

Margaret Blackshere, president emeritus, Illinois AFL-CIO, Chicago.

Robert J. Christie, vice president, government relations, Northwestern Memorial Hospital, Chicago.

Darcy Davidsmeyer, director, state government relations, Motorola Inc., Schaumburg.

Kathleen Dunn, vice president, government relations, Illinois Hospital Association, Springfield.

Jim Edgar, senior fellow, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

Sharon Gist Gilham, chairperson, Chicago Housing Authority.

Doris B. Holleb, professorial lecturer, University of Chicago.

Joan W. Levy, education consultant, Northbrook.

Jeff Mays, president, Illinois Business Roundtable, Chicago.

Abner J. Mikva, visiting professor of law, University of Chicago.

Laurence J. Msall, president, The Civic Federation, Chicago.

Diana Nelson, consultant, Chicago.

Dawu Clark Netsch, professor of law emeritus, Northwestern University School of Law, Chicago.

Aurie Pennick, executive director, Field Foundation of Illinois, Chicago.

Taylor Pensoneau, author and former president of the board of directors, Illinois Center for the Book, Springfield.

Betsy A. Plank, principal, Betsy Plank Public Relations, Chicago.

Sylvia Pnente, director, Metropolitan Chicago Initiative, Institute for Latino Studies, University of Notre Dame.

Philip J. Rock, attorney, Rock, Fusco & Associates, LLC, Chicago.

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, vice president, community and education relations, Boeing Corp., Chicago.

Tom Ryder, attorney, W. Thomas Ryder, LTD, Springfield.

Charles W. Scholz, attorney, Quincy

Paula Wolff, senior executive, Chicago Metropolis 2020.

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

Anthony P. Maher, executive director, Center for State Policy and Leadership, University of Illinois at Springfield.

Robert F. Rich, director and professor, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

FOUNDING MEMBER

Samuel K. Gove, professor emeritus of political science, University of Illinois.

MEMBERS EMERITUS

(years served on board in parentheses)

Michael J. Bakalis (1983-2001), **James M. Banovetz** (1986-2005), **James L. Fletcher** (1983-2000), **David Kenney** (1978-90), **Louis H. Masotti** (1978-92), **James T. Otis** (1975-94), **David J. Paulus** (1988-94), **Carl Shier** (1978-87).

Library and Museum complex, designed as an attraction for scholars and tourists alike, on which the city pins its hopes for revitalizing downtown. The Springfield Convention and Visitor's Bureau estimates more than a million visitors travel to Springfield each year to bask in Lincoln's aura, as well as spend money in hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops. Tourism generated more than \$320 million for the Springfield-area economy in 2005, according to a state estimate, and much of that can be attributed to Lincoln.

Immersed physically in Lincolniana, if not intellectually, I soon felt compelled to learn more. I cut my teeth on Carl Sandburg and Jim Bishop; later David Herbert Donald, Garry Wills and Guelzo. Time constraints have prevented me from finishing Doris Kearns Goodwin's *A Team of Rivals* — it has been a little busy in Springfield lately with a couple of other political figures — but I do intend to. And Guelzo's eloquent thoughts in these pages on "What made Lincoln *Lincoln*?" only makes me more eager to venture further.

I harbor no intent to ever become a Lincoln expert. Just as with professional baseball and blues music, I am thoroughly content as a casual enthusiast. But years ago, when I moved to central California, I soon realized I had to learn at least enough about a local economic staple — wine — to carry on a polite conversation. And I now know that living in Springfield and following politics and government, I need to understand more than a little about Lincoln.

James Otis, a founding advisory board member of *Illinois Issues* magazine, serving from 1975 until 1994, died December 19. He was 85.

He received his law degree from Northwestern University in 1951 and practiced law in Chicago. He was appointed to the Illinois Constitution Study Commission before the state's Constitutional Convention in 1969-70.

Former Illinois Comptroller Dawn Clark Netsch, also an *Illinois Issues* Advisory Board member, attended law school with Otis and says he always

was interested in Illinois government. They had been discussing current events in Illinois politics as recently as the last few weeks of Otis' life.

"He remained passionately interested in politics in the broad sense of the word," Netsch says. "He was just interested in what went on in the public arena."

Otis also served on the board of the Chicago-based Better Government Association and on the Committee on Illinois Government, which consisted of members whom Netsch describes as "liberal, good-government-type Democrats."

We mourn his passing.

The above information on Mr. Otis was compiled by Jamey Dunn, one of our new master's degree interns from the Public Affairs Reporting program at the University of Illinois at Springfield. She holds an associate's degree from Lakeland College in her hometown of Mattoon and completed her bachelor's degree at Southern Illinois University Carbondale, with a major in speech communications and minors in journalism and marketing.

Our other PAR intern is Hilary Caryl Russell. Born in Puerto Rico, she didn't learn English until age 4 when her family moved to the Midwest before settling in Florida. She has a bachelor's degree in mass communications from the University of North Carolina and has worked at several television stations and community newspapers.

Also please welcome our new research assistant, Melissa Weissert, who is pursuing a master's degree in history at UIS after earning her undergraduate degree in that subject from Southern Illinois University Edwardsville. Among other jobs, she has worked as a park guide at the Lincoln Home site in Springfield.

Also helping us is Nicole Harbour, the graduate assistant for UIS' Center for State Policy and Leadership. She holds a bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and is pursuing a master's degree in English at UIS.

Dana Heupel can be reached at heupel.dana@uis.edu.

ARCHIVAL COPY
DO NOT CIRCULATE

Illinois Issues

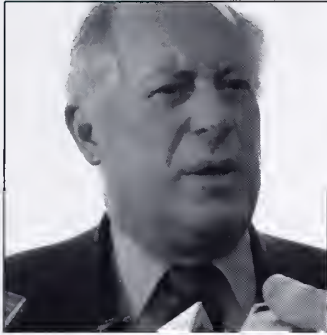
ILLINOIS STATE LIBRARY

FEB 09 2009

A publication of the University of Illinois at Springfield ILLINOIS DOCUMENTS

February 2009

Volume XXXV, No. 2



Pat Quinn, page 19



What made Lincoln Lincoln? page 15



At the crossroads, page 24

FEATURES

15 *The Paul Simon Essay*

What made Lincoln Lincoln?
His principles and personality still endure 200 years after his birth.

by Allen C. Guelzo

19 Pat Quinn

How will the man whom critics described as a gadfly work with the government establishment he so often fought?

by Bethany Jaeger

24 At the crossroads

Evangelical conservatives in Illinois find themselves in need of leadership to stage a resurgence.

by Kurt Erickson

26 The pain of closure

Communities with state parks and historic sites fear that shuttered attractions will harm business.

by Adriana Colindres

29 Youth justice

Reformers want the state to redouble its efforts to help juvenile criminal offenders.

by Whitney Woodward

Credits: This issue was designed by Patty Sullivan. The LeRoy Neiman portrait of Abraham Lincoln comes to us courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum.

Editorial and business office: HRB 10, University of Illinois at Springfield, One University Plaza, Springfield, IL 62703-5407. Telephone: 217-206-6084. Fax: 217-206-7257. E-mail: illinoisissues@uis.edu. E-mail editor: heupel.dana@uis.edu.

Subscription questions: Illinois Issues, Subscription Division, P.O. Box 2795, Springfield, IL 62708-2795 or call 1-800-508-0266. Hours are 8:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Central Time, Monday-Friday (except holidays). *Subscriptions:* \$39.95 one year/ \$72 two years/ \$105 three years; student rate is \$20 a year. Individual copy is \$5. Back issue is \$5. Illinois Issues is indexed in the PAIS Bulletin and is available electronically on our home page: <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>. Illinois Issues (ISSN 0738-9663) is published monthly, except July and August are combined. December is published online only. Periodical postage paid at Springfield, IL, and additional mailing offices.

Postmaster: Send address changes to Illinois Issues, Subscription Division, P.O. Box 19243, Springfield, IL 62794-9243.

©2009 by Illinois Issues, University of Illinois at Springfield, One University Plaza, Springfield, IL 62703-5407. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without prior written permission is prohibited. Illinois Issues is published by the University of Illinois at Springfield. In addition to university support and subscription income, the magazine is supported by grants and donations. The contents of the magazine do not necessarily reflect the views of the university or the donors.

DEPARTMENTS

3 EDITOR'S NOTE

More to learn about Lincoln
by Dana Heupel

6 STATE OF THE STATE

A self-fulfilling prophecy?
by Bethany Jaeger

8 BRIEFLY

34 PEOPLE

37 ENDS AND MEANS

A distraction from budget woes
by Charles N. Wheeler III

STAFF

Director/Executive Editor, Center Publications
Dana Heupel

EDITORIAL

Statehouse Bureau Chief: Bethany Jaeger

Managing Editor: Maureen Foertsch McKinney

Projects Editor: Beverley Seobell

Columnist: Charles N. Wheeler III

Research Assistant: Melissa Weissert

Editorial Assistant: Debi Edmund

Public Affairs Reporting Interns:

Jamey Dunn and Hilary Russell

Center for State Policy and Leadership Intern:

Nicole Harbour

BUSINESS

Business Manager: Toni L. Langdon

Marketing & Circulation Director: Linda Anderson

Circulation Fulfillment Assistant: William J. House II

Student Assistant: Titilayo Agunloye

Illinois Issues is published by Center Publications
Center for State Policy and Leadership
<http://cspl.uis.edu>

Bethany Jaeger



Illinois voters could experience a self-fulfilling prophecy

by Bethany Jaeger

The so-called pay-to-play ban, which was aimed at Gov. Rod Blagojevich and took effect last month, took three years to win legislative approval and barely survived Blagojevich's veto pen.

The good news, according to Cynthia Canary, executive director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform in Chicago, is that the next attempt to strengthen the state's ethics laws could actually be less complicated. But it would be more drastic and widespread.

The pay-to-play ban makes it illegal for the governor and other statewide officers to accept campaign donations from businesses that hold contracts worth more than \$50,000, including work on economic development and construction projects.

According to a 76-page criminal complaint, Blagojevich allegedly went into overdrive trying to collect as much campaign cash as he could before the new state law took effect January 1. For instance, he allegedly schemed to withhold \$8 million from a children's hospital in Chicago unless its administrator donated \$50,000 to his campaign. Since his 2002 run for governor, he built a \$58.3 million campaign chest, one-third of which was funded by individual donations of \$25,000 each, according to the Campaign for Political Reform.

Supporters describe the new law as landmark ethics reform. Canary says it was "absolutely essential," particularly

Campaign contribution limits could be the soup du jour of ethics reforms as state legislators consider a menu of anti-Blagojevich measures this year. It's a big mouthful to swallow, but voters are salivating for change.

because the law specifically targets the way Blagojevich allegedly decided policy based on who donated money. But the ban did not attempt to reform the way all politicians fund their campaigns.

"It was really much more about public policy than about elections," Canary says. "It was: How are our tax dollars being spent? How are decisions being made?"

The ban does not apply to state legislators or statewide political parties. Some see that as a gaping loophole, allowing political party chairmen — Democratic House Speaker Michael Madigan and Republican businessman Andy McKenna — to funnel significant amounts of money to their legislative candidates who are in tight races.

The party leaders are perceived to be

the biggest obstacle to changing state law to cap the amount individuals, unions, businesses and political committees could donate to candidates.

Campaign contribution limits could be the soup du jour of ethics reforms as state legislators consider a menu of anti-Blagojevich measures this year. It's a big mouthful to swallow, but voters are salivating for change.

In fact, 81 percent of 802 voters surveyed last month said they only trust state government "some of the time" or "almost never," but 67 percent rejected the idea that "corruption in government will always be a problem, so trying to fix it will not make much difference."

The study was funded by the Joyce Foundation in Chicago and conducted by Belden Russonello & Stewart in Washington, D.C.

While those interviewed deemed attempts to change the system as worthwhile, fewer than half of them had confidence in state legislators to make such changes. The Illinois General Assembly's negative job approval rating has nearly doubled since last spring and tripled since three years ago.

While increasingly pessimistic, more than three-fourths of the survey respondents said they believed that these specific reforms would help government work better: Ban contributions by unions, limit individual donations and publicly fund political campaigns.

Democratic Rep. Harry Osterman of Chicago introduced a measure, **House Bill 24**, that would limit the amount individuals could donate to \$2,300. Unions, businesses and political committees would be limited to \$5,000. All candidates, including incumbents, could operate only one campaign committee.

Osterman's bill resembles a federal law but doesn't go as far as banning unions or corporations from giving altogether.

Considering Illinois history, lawmakers might need to take smaller portions and accept that it could take repeated attempts to get it done, Canary says. "I get very concerned that we set up the perfect as the enemy of the good here."

The ultimate goal is to shut down the supply and demand for massive contributions, as well as even the playing field for candidates at all levels.

Rep. Julie Hamos, an Evanston Democrat, tried as a freshman legislator to establish contribution limits 10 years ago, when a \$2,300 contribution would have raised eyebrows. Aptly named **House Bill 1776**, after the founding fathers of the U.S. Constitution, the bill went nowhere.

She says opportunity could be ripe this year, when public awareness is heightened by the international attention on Blagojevich, particularly his alleged attempt to sell to the highest bidder the U.S. Senate seat vacated by President Barack Obama.

Forty-seven other states already have campaign contribution limits, according to the Campaign for Political Reform. And the cost of running a political campaign isn't getting any cheaper.

"Where I think candidates and public officials get in trouble," says Hamos, "is that they sell their souls for very significant campaign contributions."

Contribution limits could force candidates to reach out to more voters face to face rather than through their televisions or mailboxes. Hamos cites Obama's presidential run, which she says proves technology and legwork can engage more voters.

The primary challenge, just as Hamos experienced a decade ago, is to get statewide party leaders aboard.

Even Rep. Roger Eddy, a Hutsonville Republican co-sponsoring Osterman's

The House speaker points to existing laws on the books and has said, "Everybody ought to learn the rules and then live by the rules."

bill, says he doesn't anticipate success this year.

"The power base likes the way things are," he says. "The speakers, the minority leaders, they like this. They like the fact that they control the money and the large contributions that are made there."

Osterman says he spoke to Madigan about his bill. "He is willing to work with me on the legislation. That's something I think is progress."

But Madigan's spokesman, Steve Brown, says the House speaker points to existing laws on the books and has said, "Everybody ought to learn the rules and then live by the rules."

Canary says she was appalled at Madigan's comments, heard on a Chicago radio program last month.

"There is a crisis of confidence in this state right now," she says. And voters recognize that it's not just a Blagojevich problem. It's a systemic problem.

"People are making the connection between the utter dysfunctionality of this state — the gridlock, the failure to pay bills, the failure to come up with a capital plan — with a system that is essentially corrupt, controlled by very few, not open."

Even if political party leaders warmed to the idea of contribution limits, however, Canary says the key ingredient is the state's ability to enforce the laws.

For instance, the Illinois State Board of Elections does not have authority to audit political campaigns to see if they are complying with state law.

"If we move to a more regulatory structure, we have to bring enforcement along with it," Canary says. "Because it's not enough to say, 'OK, here are the new rules. Be good.'"

Voters who were surveyed last month said they recognize the need for more enforcement. Two-thirds said they support the creation of a new state agency to vigorously enforce campaign finance

laws, and they support using more tax dollars to do it.

The Joyce Foundation survey also found that a large majority of voters supports additional reforms:

- Give the public more access to state government decisions on spending and programs.
- Require lobbyists to fully disclose their clients and lobbying activities.
- Use tax dollars to fund campaigns for state candidates and judges.
- Require judges to step aside when parties involved with cases have contributed to their campaigns.

In a published letter to the editor in the *Chicago Tribune*, Lt. Gov. Pat Quinn offered his ideas about how to restore voter confidence, including allowing voters to decide whether to recall elected officials and to directly enact reforms through referenda or petitions. Both would require a change in the Illinois Constitution, which is no easy feat.

But Quinn also said the state could reinforce existing laws such as one that protects people who file lawsuits when they believe they have uncovered government waste or fraud. He also wants to improve the transparency of the way state lawmakers receive pay raises and to "plug holes" in the state's recent pay-to-play ban.

Hamos also advocates for a follow-up to the pay-to-play ban to help sitting governors stand on equal ground with their potential opponents, who will be able to collect campaign cash from state contractors until they officially file as candidates for governor.

On one hand, Canary says, "anybody who wants to evade any law, be it a gun law or a campaign finance law, will evade that law."

On the other hand, a commitment from party leaders to "get with the program" and realize that voters are angry and more likely to start spreading the blame for state corruption could be the very thing that prevents a self-fulfilling prophecy that Illinois politics and government always will be corrupt.

Whether campaign contribution limits or more effective enforcement, it's time for Illinois to dig its teeth into something convincing. □

Bethany Jaeger can be reached at capitolbureau@aol.com.

BRIEFLY

IMPEACHED

Senate trial will determine whether to remove Blagojevich

Photograph by Bethany Jaeger

Gov. Rod Blagojevich says he “pushed and prodded the system” so he could expand health care programs that “literally saved lives.”

But 114 Illinois House members deemed Blagojevich’s pushing and prodding as a repeated abuse of power. Members cited a “totality of evidence” as the basis for their historic vote to impeach a sitting governor. Blagojevich, who maintains his innocence, now faces a full trial in the state Senate, where legislators serve as judge and jury to prove whether the House’s accusations justify kicking Blagojevich out of office.

A special House committee that investigated whether there was cause for impeachment established 13 grounds, including attempting to sell the U.S. Senate seat vacated by President Barack Obama and withholding \$8 million from Children’s Memorial Hospital in Chicago unless a hospital administrator donated \$50,000 to Blagojevich’s campaign.

Both allegations were highlighted in a lengthy criminal complaint filed by federal prosecutors on December 9, 2008, the day FBI agents awoke Blagojevich at his home to arrest him.

The House investigative committee was denied access to some evidence gathered in Blagojevich’s ongoing criminal case. However, because the impeachment proceedings resemble more of a political process than a criminal trial, committee members focused on examples of Blagojevich’s alleged abuse of power, particularly his expansion of a state-sponsored health insurance program to middle-income families without legislative approval or funding authority. Members also said he violated his constitutional oath by breaking Illinois and federal law when hiring and firing state employees, importing European flu vaccine and creating a program to import prescription drugs for seniors, among other offenses.

“Whatever their stations, whether petty thieves or governors, those who break the



House investigative committee Chairwoman Barbara Flynn Currie and House Speaker Michael Madigan answer media questions after the committee recommended impeachment.

law must not be immune from the consequences and must be held to account for their actions,” said House Majority Leader Barbara Flynn Currie, a Chicago Democrat who chaired the investigative committee.

Many legislators challenged current and future public officials to do better, to rebuild the public confidence in Illinois and to move on to repairing the state’s dire fiscal situation.

“Enough is enough,” said Rep. Bill Black, a Danville Republican on the special committee. “No more. And to the people of the state of Illinois, I think your charge is simple: Hold each of us accountable, become informed voters and do not tolerate what has been often winked at in this state. We make a move forward, I think, today, and I hope everyone gets the message.”

Blagojevich’s defense team said the proceedings were flawed and biased. His attorney, Edward Genson, was not granted the ability to cross-examine witnesses or issue his own subpoenas. Blagojevich’s statement said the governor anticipates a more favorable trial before the Senate. “When the case moves to the Senate, an actual judge will preside over the hear-

ings, and the governor believes the outcome will be much different.”

Thomas Fitzgerald, chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, is presiding. If the Senate votes to convict Blagojevich, Lt. Gov. Pat Quinn immediately will become governor.

Bethany Jaeger

House prosecutor

David Ellis will try to persuade at least 40 Illinois senators to convict Gov. Rod Blagojevich and remove him from office.

Ellis was the primary author of the 59-page report that gave 13 grounds for Blagojevich’s impeachment, as approved by the House last month. “I am now going to represent the feelings of 114 members that voted to impeach the governor,” he said before the trial.

The former Chicago attorney is House Speaker Michael Madigan’s chief legal counsel and author of five novels, the first of which won the Edgar Allan Poe Award.

He said he didn’t consider Blagojevich’s impeachment as fodder for his next writing project. “I’m not sure anyone would believe it if I put it into a book.”

Bethany Jaeger

Impeachable offenses

The Illinois House voted 114-1, with one voting “present,” to impeach Gov. Rod Blagojevich. Here is a summary of the allegations:

- He attempted to sell President-elect Barack Obama’s vacant Senate seat for campaign contributions or personal gain.
- He pressured the Tribune Co. to fire members of the *Chicago Tribune* editorial staff who had been critical of the governor by threatening to withhold state funding.
- He tried to get campaign contributions for signing a bill into law that would give a percentage of casino profits to the horse racing industry.
- He schemed to get a \$500,000 campaign contribution from a state highway contractor in relation to an upcoming Illinois Tollway expansion.
- He withheld \$8 million from Children’s Memorial Hospital in Chicago in an attempt to extort campaign contributions from a hospital executive.
- He appointed Ali Ata as the executive director of the Illinois Finance Authority in return for a \$25,000 campaign contribution. Ata has pleaded guilty to criminal charges.
- He awarded multiple government contracts in exchange for campaign contributions.
- He traded state permits and authorizations for campaign contributions.
- He mishandled “efficiency initiatives” that consolidated functions of state agencies and advised them to violate the state Constitution and spending laws to comply with the initiatives.
- He expanded the state-sponsored FamilyCare health insurance program without legislative approval or funding.
- He ordered, without federal approval, doses of European flu vaccine that the state didn’t need. The doses were never used before they expired.
- He illegally imported prescription drugs from foreign countries through the I-SaveRx program.
- He violated state and federal law when hiring and firing some state employees.

Center of attention



Photograph by Robert Pope

U.S. Sen. Roland Burris was sworn in January 15.

Former Illinois Attorney General Roland Burris finally was seated as the newest U.S. senator from Illinois, but not before causing a stir from Illinois to Washington, D.C., by accepting the appointment by the legally embattled Gov. Rod Blagojevich.

The appointment escalated into a national ordeal because Blagojevich’s arrest for alleged federal corruption in December hinged on allegations that he schemed to personally benefit from appointing someone to fill the U.S. Senate seat vacated by President Barack Obama.

Burris became sandwiched between Blagojevich’s legal battles and the U.S. Senate leaders’ failure to form a uniform and consistent position about whether they would accept his appointment. Race entered the mix when U.S. Rep. Bobby Rush of Illinois said U.S. senators wouldn’t want to be on record as denying Burris from becoming the sole African-American member in that chamber.

The U.S. Senate initially rejected Burris’ appointment because, Democratic Party leaders said, Illinois Secretary of State Jesse White refused to sign the official document. Burris maintained that his appointment was legal, but he was denied access to the U.S. Senate floor and was escorted out of the building.

Burris didn’t give up. He filed a motion with the Illinois Supreme Court, arguing

White had a mandatory duty under Congress to sign and affix the state seal to his appointment papers. The court found his reasoning to be “wholly without merit” and said the secretary of state fulfilled his duties by registering the appointment, even without his signature. “No further action is required by any officer of this state to make that appointment valid,” according to the court.

Burris frequently cited his 40 years of experience, including three terms as state comptroller between 1979 and 1991, followed by one term as attorney general. The Centralia native also served as vice chair of the Democratic National Committee from 1985 to 1989.

Burris’ fundraising practices were scrutinized during his first full fiscal year as attorney general, when more than half of the money his office awarded for outside legal work went to campaign contributors, according to the book *Illinois for Sale*, published by *Illinois Issues* magazine and the *Springfield State Journal-Register*. His office denied so-called pay-to-play politics at the time.

The House impeachment investigation of Blagojevich also raised questions about Burris’ contributions to the governor’s campaign fund. Burris was a lobbyist at the state and federal level, as well as a lawyer, and individually donated about \$4,500 to Blagojevich in the past eight years, according to his testimony. He also raised eyebrows when he said that he expressed his interest in the U.S. Senate seat to Blagojevich’s former chief of staff, Lon Monk, who reportedly was cooperating with federal investigators in Blagojevich’s ongoing case.

Illinois Rep. Jim Durkin, a Western Springs Republican, said: “Not only Washington, but people in Illinois are watching [Burris’] actions, the things that he’s done in his public life. And he will be held accountable with the public if he does run for election in 2010.”

Burris has not said whether he will run for election in 2010.

Bethany Jaeger

The House impeachment committee

Photographs by Robert Pope



An Illinois House committee swears in Rolaud Burris before his testimony. That committee issued a report recommending the impeachment of Gov. Rod Blagojevich.



Blagojevich's attorney, Edward Genson, was not granted the ability to cross-examine witnesses or to issue his own subpoenas. Attorney Sam Adam Jr. is seated alongside Genson.



House Speaker Michael Madigan and Rep. Lou Lang of Skokie



Rep. Chapin Rose, a Mahomet Republican, signs the report of the special House committee after the panel voted to recommend impeaching Blagojevich.



The House Special Investigative Committee met in the state Capitol for a total of six daylong hearings.

State funds help more people stay in their homes

About 120 homes owned by low-income elderly and disabled Illinoisans will share \$2 million in state grants to make their living spaces safer and more accessible. Fourteen public agencies and nonprofit organizations will administer the funds to construct ramps, chair lifts, wider doors and other features in homes to help people with physical limits continue to live in their homes and communities. Residents who qualify can receive up to \$25,000.

Since its inception in 2006, the Home Modification Program, led by the Illinois Housing Development Authority, has awarded more than \$5 million to remodel homes. This latest round of grants makes 200 low-income families who have been helped.

One organization, Ramp Up Foundation Inc. in Tinley Park, has served 150 people with disabilities in the greater Chicago area since 2002. Ramp Up will administer \$278,200 aimed at serving about 13 families. Beth Glascock, program assistant, says the costs of construction and the nature of homes in the area limit the number of people the organization can help.

"The way houses are built in cities — they're often closer to the sidewalk, and they don't have a lot of yard space," she says. A ramp, which costs about \$4,000, often is not practical and the only option is a vertical platform lift, which is an external elevator that can cost as much as \$13,000.

Yet the need is great. Glascock says in 2008 Ramp Up had a waiting list of more than 400 people.

Coles County is beginning its program with a \$128,400 grant that will serve about eight homes. Doug McDermid, executive director of the Coles County Regional Planning and Development Commission, which is administering the program for the county, says there is a definite need but no waiting list as yet.

New law allows DUI offenders to keep driving

Since a new law took effect in January, convicted DUI offenders in Illinois can drive during their license suspensions if they install breathalyzers that require them to blow into a tube before they can start their ignitions.

Installation costs between \$75 and \$100, and there is a monthly rental charge of up to \$80. On top of that, Secretary of State Jesse White's office will collect a \$30 monthly fee to help cover administrative costs.

The state also will charge additional fees to pay for a program that would offer free devices to people who can't afford them. However, it is up to sentencing judges to decide who will get the free ignition locks. Susan McKinney, administrator of the state program, says that the secretary of state's office is working to create standard qualifications for judges to use.

White's spokesman, Henry Haupt, says his office is committed to finding a

way to make the program work, despite Gov. Rod Blagojevich's 2008 cut of \$3.25 million meant to pay for the program. Haupt says that at least 30,000 people are expected to opt for ignition locks in 2009. According to McKinney, people who opt for ignition locks in the future might pay increased fees.

Despite reassurances from the secretary of state's office, some state contractors who will install the free ignition locks have concerns that they won't get timely reimbursement from the state. They'll start installing the devices in March, but state reimbursements aren't expected to start until the fall. Then, the state will cut the contractors' checks every three months.

"This is a very scary situation for all the companies," says Justin Morfe, owner of central Illinois-based AAA Interlock in Mahomet.

He says he worries because the law lacks specific requirements for people

who can't afford the devices. "The possibility exists that it can be abused. If it is, it will create a tremendous problem for the industry and the state."

Jim Ballard, president of Texas-based Smart Start, agrees that the law is unclear, but he says that his company has had few problems working with similar programs in other states. Smart Start has several locations in Illinois.

Ignition locks are the only option for first-time offenders who want to drive while their licenses are suspended. If a device measures a blood alcohol level of 0.05 or more, then the offender's vehicle cannot start.

Anthony Cole, chairman of the Chicago-based Illinois Alcohol and Drug Dependence Association, says that a program focusing on first-time offenders is a good idea. "It is probably not the first time they were driving under the influence. It is the first time they got caught."

Jamey Dunn

Photograph courtesy of Ramp Up Foundation Inc.



Lillian Banks uses a chair lift to reach her bedroom and bathroom.

Eligible homeowners will be determined through an application process in conjunction with a local nonprofit organization, SAIL, short for Soyland Access to Independent Living.

The 2008 grant awards were distributed more broadly statewide and will make assistance available to areas, such as Coles County, that have been underserved or not served at all.

"This program is a godsend," says McDermid. "It meets one of the county's most urgent unmet needs, and it is long overdue."

Beverly Scobell

Organic farming partnership begins

Residents of Pembroke Township in rural Kankakee County, many of whom are low-income African-Americans, have teamed up with a Chicago non-profit to run an organic mixed-farming and gardening program.

Located on 25 acres 60 miles south of Chicago, the farm will produce organically grown vegetables, poultry and goat products to be sold at the Kankakee Farmers Market and marketed to niche groceries catering to Muslim and Hispanic families in the Chicago area, says Goodwin Akpan, executive director of the United Human Services Center. The Chicago-based organization helps farmer immigrants and abused women by providing gardens and teaching them simple gardening techniques.

The Pembroke project aims to expand its city program to acquire more garden space and to educate rural and urban participants about the benefits of organic farming and gardening. The local University of Illinois Extension Office will offer classes and expert advice.

"Promoting sustainable farming and teaching and passing on farming skills to a younger generation of would-be farmers are valuable objectives," says Akpan.

After the ground is prepared for organic farming, the first harvest will focus on herbs, tomatoes, peppers and other plants. Second-year operations will include goat and chicken products, raised without antibiotics or pesticide-laden feed. Eventually, the group will

seek to have the farm certified as "organic" under U.S. Department of Agriculture standards.

The Pembroke garden was made possible by a grant from the USDA's North Central Region Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education program, which has awarded more than \$30 million worth of competitive grants to farmers and ranchers, researchers, educators, public and private institutions, nonprofit groups and others exploring sustainable agriculture in 12 states.

"Because area residents are getting older, and there aren't enough youth to take up farming as a way of life, this offers a win-win situation for everyone," says Akpan.

Tony Hamelin



Illinois prepares to commemorate Lincoln's birthday

A celebration 200 years in the making, the Lincoln Bicentennial, will give Illinois residents plenty of opportunities to honor our 16th president.

"Lincoln loved a house that was not divided," Marilyn Kushak, chairwoman of the Illinois Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, says. "We hope [through the Bicentennial celebration] to honor Lincoln and to make our hero proud."

On February 6, the Illinois State Museum in Springfield will host *From Humble Beginnings: Lincoln's Illinois, 1830-1861*, a 3,000-foot interactive exhibition that allows visitors to imagine Illinois through Lincoln's eyes. The exhibit features stories of Illinois residents from the 1800s, as well as artifacts from that time period. The exhibit will run from February 6 through January 10.

From February 7 through February 28, 2010, the Chicago Public Library at 400 S. State St. will feature a photographic exhibition, *Tall Man of Destiny: Images of Abraham Lincoln*.

On February 9, Lincoln memorabilia enthusiasts will be able to purchase the first Lincoln Bicentennial stamps. The U.S. Postal Service will begin issuing them at the Old State Capital in Springfield. The stamps will mark the various stages of Lincoln's life and detail his time as a rail-splitter, lawyer, politician and president.

On Lincoln's birthday, February 12, a plethora of celebrations will be offered throughout Illinois. Many of the Lincoln Bicentennial events will be centered in Springfield. Beginning at 9 a.m., a 2009 Lincoln Symposium will take place in the Hall of Representatives at the Old State Capital. The panel discussion, titled "The Age of Lincoln," will feature several Lincoln authors. A wreath-laying ceremony at Lincoln's tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery will take place at 10 a.m.

An Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Period Ball will also take place from 6 to 9 p.m. February 12, at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum plaza. The 10th Cavalry Regiment Band will

provide period music. Guests are encouraged to wear mid-1800s attire. Reservations are required and can be obtained through the Illinois Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission at (217) 558-8934.

In Lema, the Lincoln Log Cabin State Historic Site will let visitors experience what a typical day in Abraham Lincoln's childhood would have been like. The site will be open from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

In Mahomet, the Early American Museum will feature *The Many Faces of Abraham Lincoln*, an exhibit that will focus on Lincoln's personal life as a reader, father and lawyer. "Mr. Lincoln" will visit, and cake and crafts for children will be provided. The event will be held from 1 to 4 p.m.

A complete list of Illinois Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial events is available at the Lincoln Bicentennial Commission Web site: http://www.lincoln200.net/events/events_results.asp?date=2-12-2009.

Nicole Harbour

Numbers show shift in Latino/Asian vote

Hard numbers to be released next month by the Illinois State Board of Elections are expected to validate exit polling of Hispanic-American and Asian-American voters in the 2008 presidential election that showed a strong preference for Democratic candidates.

Two-thirds of Hispanic voters (67 percent) chose Barack Obama for president, playing a key role in victories in the formerly red states of Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico and Florida. In 2004, President George W. Bush won 44 percent of the Latino vote.

However, in Illinois, 68 percent of Latino voters on Election Day said they consider the Republican Party "not favorable to immigrants," according to exit surveys conducted by the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights in partnership with Univision Radio News and the Asian American Institute. For first-time voters, 88 percent of Latinos and 83 percent of Asians chose Obama.

"I think the Republican Party is close to the point of no return among Latino voters," says Joshua Hoyt, executive director of the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. "If they

can't figure out a way in which to move the issue of immigration reform off the table and to stop the loudest and most bitter voices from defining their party, they may lose the Latino vote for a generation or more."

Last year, the coalition registered more than 25,000 immigrants to vote in Illinois and helped thousands get to the polls on Election Day. However, immigration issues were not the top priority among those who responded to the surveys. More than four out of 10 (41.6 percent) said their top issue was the economy, followed by immigration (17.9 percent) and education (9.5 percent).

Yet, Hoyt says if he were a Republican Party strategist, he would be working very hard to resolve the immigration reform issue with a "minimum of racial fireworks," so the party can begin to appeal again to Latino voters "in the way Bush and Rove appealed to them" around issues of patriotism, family values and business ethics.

Karl Rove, President George W. Bush's chief political strategist, made similar comments in a November *Newsweek* magazine piece. "The GOP won't be a majority party if it cedes the young or Hispanics to Democrats. Republicans must find a way to support secure bor-

ders, a guest-worker program and comprehensive immigration reform that strengthens citizenship, grows our economy and keeps America a welcoming nation. An anti-Hispanic attitude is suicidal. As the party of Lincoln, Republicans have a moral obligation to make our case to Hispanics, blacks and Asian-Americans who share our values. Whether we see gains in 2010 depends on it."

Hoyt says recent research on voting trends points to an immigrant reaction to the rancorous tone of some campaigns. "That's starting to be felt in the Chicago suburbs in a serious way. The Foster/Oberweis race is Exhibit A, B and C." Democrat Bill Foster, a scientist at Fermilab in Batavia, won a special election in March 2008 to fill the 14th District seat left vacant when former U.S. House Speaker Dennis Hastert, a Republican, resigned in November 2007 following the Democratic takeover of the House in 2006. Republican Jim Oberweis, an investment banker and dairy owner, campaigned as a hard-liner against illegal immigration. Rep. Foster again defeated Oberweis in the general election.

The Republican Party is still competitive among Asian voters, but, Hoyt says, "the warning signs are there."

Beverly Scobell

Grant will fund study of adolescent activity and obesity

Over the next four years, the University of Illinois at Chicago will research behaviors in young people that lead to poor health and obesity. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation awarded an additional \$16 million to UIC's ImpacTeen project, which up to now has primarily focused on adolescent tobacco, alcohol and illicit drug use. In the past 11 years, the foundation has supported the research with \$22.5 million.

"What we're seeing with kids is a lot more health consequences that we didn't see 20 years ago from the high weight," says Frank Chaloupka, professor of economics and director of the Health Policy Center at UIC's Institute for Health Research and Policy and principal investigator of the study. He says researchers have been paying more attention to diet, physical activity and obesity as the number of overweight adolescents has grown.

"Childhood diabetes and [diseases] like that have long-term health consequences and significant costs associated with them," he says.

He and his team of researchers will focus on state and local policies that may impact diet, activity and weight in children, as well as looking at national legislation and food marketing campaigns. On the local level, they will assess school district wellness policies that aim to promote more physical activity and healthy eating, which will include a survey of food available at

school through the lunch program, vending machines, availability of fast food and classroom snacks.

The goal of the new focus on youth diet and exercise is to provide comprehensive data that will enable legislators to develop policy and appropriate dollars effectively to change behaviors that create lifelong health problems.

"States are starting to use policy approaches to deal with this," says Chaloupka. "We are starting to see more aggressive approaches out there."

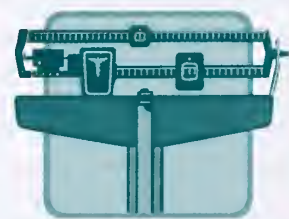
Legislators in New York have proposed putting an excise tax on sugar-sweetened beverages. California and Oregon, he says, are also looking at similar policies.

"That will emerge in other states as well," he says. "Look at tobacco and see the impact taxes have had on reducing tobacco use and keeping kids from taking up smoking."

Chaloupka thinks legislators will apply the same argument to taxing sugar-laden drinks, such as sodas, sports beverages and fruit drinks aimed at children.

"They can do some public health good at the same time they generate some revenue they need for other things."

Beverly Scobell



What made Lincoln *Lincoln*?

His principles and personality
still endure 200 years after his birth

by Allen C. Guelzo

This article by renowned Lincoln scholar Allen Guelzo is our latest Paul Simon Essay, which honors the late U.S. senator from Illinois, one of the founders of *Illinois Issues*.

The periodic essays attempt to frame public policy issues that were of particular interest to Simon, as well as examining them from a moral and ethical perspective. Guelzo looks at the leadership qualities that have kept Abraham Lincoln's legacy alive as one of the most revered figures in world history for 144 years after his death. It is natural that we publish it this month, which marks the 200th anniversary of Lincoln's birth.

Simon's interest in Lincoln's leadership shone brightly in his 1989 book, *Lincoln's Preparation for Greatness — The Illinois Legislative Years*, which was published by the University of Illinois Press and is still in print.

In that book, Simon wrote about the 16th president's politically formative years, such as when "in New Salem, Lincoln was looked to more and more for leadership." Given the circumstances surrounding Illinois state government today, with the current governor under arrest on corruption charges and the former one in prison, there has never been more of a need for a moral leader like Lincoln.

The Paul Simon Essay was made possible by generous contributions from our readers. We are grateful for your support.

We know more about Abraham Lincoln than any other human being who lived in the 19th century. And yet, for all that we know, there remains an essential mystery about Lincoln that keeps historians and biographers forever in pursuit, forever trying to write the book that will capture Lincoln at last.

No one is more responsible for that elusiveness than Lincoln himself. Friends such as David Davis grumbled that "He was the most reticent — Secretive man I Ever Saw — or Expect to See." And as much as Lincoln appeared "easy of approach and perfectly democratic in his nature," his longtime law partner, William Henry Herndon, found him "secretive, silent, and a very reticent minded man, trusting no man, nor woman, nor child with the inner secrets of his ambitious soul."

This "reticence" would be unremarkable on its own terms if it were not for the fact that this same man was the president who piloted the nation through the trial of its life in the Civil War. We want to know what made Lincoln *Lincoln*, because if we ever find ourselves in such a trial again, it would be comforting to have the formula for recognizing the leadership we need to meet it. What maddens us, as it maddened Herndon, is that Lincoln will not tell us.

What we cannot know as fact, we frequently invent as myth. We want to know what qualities make up a Lincoln,

and so we confect them from what we hope they were — humor, resilience, long-suffering, wisdom, tolerance, sympathy. Surely, we think, the president who saved the Union from self-destruction must also be a man like this.

All of which may be true about Lincoln. But those were not the things that Lincoln himself thought were important. "It is a great piece of folly to attempt to make anything out of my early life," Lincoln advised John Locke Scripps, who wanted to publish a campaign biography in 1860. "It can all be condensed into a single sentence, and that sentence you will find in Gray's *Elegy*: 'The short and simple annals of the poor.'" In our search for the mysterious personality of Lincoln, we are pursuing the part of him that he considered the least significant. And we are missing the five very obvious things that he thought were in plain sight as the real keys to saving the Union and freeing the slaves.

1. SELF-TRANSFORMATION: When Herndon used the word *ambition* about Lincoln, the connotations of *ambitious* — grasping, unscrupulous, out for the main chance — may obscure the larger sense in which this described Lincoln. "Ambition has been ascribed to me," Lincoln conceded at the end of his futile race against Stephen A. Douglas for the Illinois U.S. Senate seat in 1858, but "God knows how sincerely I prayed

from the first that this field of ambition might not be opened." What Herndon called *ambition*, Lincoln preferred to think of as self-improvement or self-transformation, and it is this passion for re-inventing himself that runs like a bright thread through all of Lincoln's life.

It is true, but not entirely true, to say that Lincoln was born into log-cabin poverty. His father, Thomas Lincoln, was actually a middling-size landowner and farmer. But to Thomas Lincoln, farm life was bliss, politically and economically, and he had no aspiration to anything more. He "Jest Raised a Nuf for his own use," recalled Lincoln's cousin, Dennis F. Hanks, and "Did Not Send any produce to any other place [for] Mor than Bought his Shugar and Coffee and Such Like." Young Abraham, however, had a quick and fertile imagination, with an intellectual thirst he slaked by continually reading. In time, his imagination sought a far wider horizon than the farm he called "the backside of the world." Once he turned 21, he left the farm, and from there, every road for Lincoln led upward.

What Lincoln prized most in American society was the freedom to become economically and socially mobile, to become something more than what you had been born to be. "Advancement — improvement in condition — is the order of things in a society of equals," he said in 1858. Unlike aristocratic Europe, in America no one was automatically consigned by birth to one class or another. "Twenty five years ago, I was a hired laborer," Lincoln cheerfully admitted. But in America, "the hired laborer of yesterday, labors on his own account to day; and will hire others to labor for him to morrow." What made America "the wonder and admiration of the whole world" was the possibility "that every man can make himself."

2. **FREE LABOR:** The principle that made this mobility possible was free labor — and Lincoln really did mean *labor*. His advice to up-and-coming lawyers was "work, work, work, is the main thing." He chided his stepbrother, John Johnston, for wanting to slide along in the old, backwoods way. "You are not lazy, and still you are an idler,"

Lincoln complained when Johnston tried to borrow money from him. Stop fooling around on the farm, Lincoln advised, and "go to work for the best money wages, or in discharge of any debt you owe." And if Johnston would do so, then "for every dollar you will ... get for your own labor, either in money, or in your own indebtedness, I will then give you one other dollar."

But Lincoln also meant *free* labor. He could not force his stepbrother to become industrious, and he saw no justice whatsoever in forcing others to labor so that the value of that labor could be appropriated by someone else.

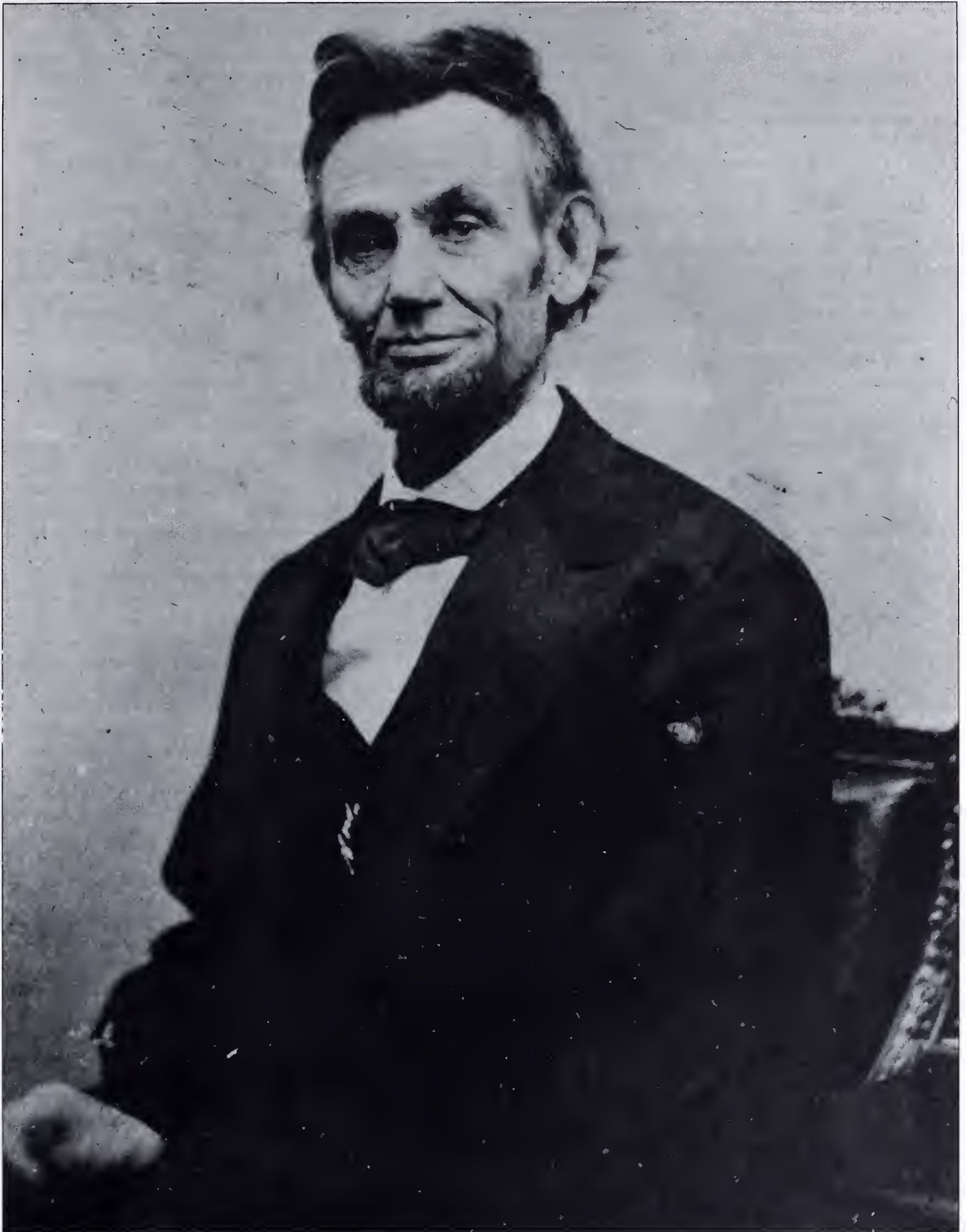
It is true, but not entirely true, to say that Lincoln was born into log-cabin poverty. His father, Thomas Lincoln, was actually a middling-size landowner and farmer. But to Thomas Lincoln, farm life was bliss, politically and economically, and he had no aspiration to anything more. He "Jest Raised A Nuf for his own use," recalled Lincoln's cousin, Dennis F. Hanks.

And it was this which led him into opposition to slavery. "As Labor is the common burthen of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burthen on to the shoulders of others, is the great, durable, curse of the race." Not only did it rob the worker; it stigmatized the work. Slave ownership, Lincoln told his loyal friend, Joseph Gillespie, "betokened not only the possession of wealth but indicated the gentleman of leisure who was above and scorned labour." This made it "a great & crying injustice" for which "we could not expect to escape punishment."

3. **FREE MARKETS:** If the most vivid symbol of slavery was the slave market, then the most important partner to free labor was a free market, and the principal role of government was to make access to markets as open as possible to all. In his career as an Illinois state legislator in the 1830s and '40s, Lincoln promoted plans for government-funded road-building, canals, railroads and a state bank — a bank to provide low-interest loans for entrepreneurial start-ups, and the roads, canals and railroads to connect entrepreneurs to markets. He did not mind if, in the process, "some will get wealthy." His belief was that "it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can."

He had no interest "in a law to prevent a man from getting rich." After all, property "is the fruit of labor — property is desirable," and should even be seen as "a positive good in the world." Moreover, if some "should be rich," this would simply show "that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise." And he was not unduly worried about whether this was fair. "If any continue through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but because of either a dependent nature which prefers it, or improvidence, folly, or singular misfortune." His advice, in the event of failure or bankruptcy, was similar to his rebuke to his stepbrother: "Let them adopt the maxim, 'Better luck next time;' and then, by renewed exertion, make that better luck for themselves."

4. **UNION:** Nothing would cripple free markets or free labor faster, however, than the break-up of the Union. The larger and more uniform the network of laborers, markets and consumers, the vaster the opportunities and more swift the increase of fortunes. But if individual states or regions could disrupt that network, either by demanding the legalization of slavery in the newly expanding West, or by simply announcing their secession from the Union (as slaveholding Southerners did in 1861), then markets would shrink, the value of labor would go down, and the nation as a whole would grow weaker in its competition with other national economies.



Lincoln had no interest "in a law to prevent a man from getting rich." After all, "property is the fruit of labor — prosperity is desirable."

When “owned labor” is let loose to “compete with your own labor,” Lincoln told New England shoemakers in 1861, the result will be “to under work you, and to degrade you!” He was not amused, either, by the suggestion that “owned labor” and free labor should be allowed to live side by side as an expression of American diversity. “If there be any diversity in our views,” he said in 1862, “it is not as to whether we should receive Slavery when free from it, but as to how we may best get rid of it already amongst us.”

5. POPULAR GOVERNMENT: But economic mobility and prosperity were not just ends in themselves. The great virtue of free labor and free markets lay in how they proved the wisdom of putting politics, as well as economics,

into the hands of the people. He reveled in “the prosperity of his countrymen,” partly because “they were his countrymen,” but mostly because that prosperity showed “to the world that freemen could be free.”

It was, by contrast, the contention of every king and every dictator (and a dismaying number of political philosophers of the Karl Marx variety) that free markets were an unstable and greedy device whereby the rich grew richer and poor grew poorer. That, Lincoln replied, was precisely the idea that played into the hands of slave owners, who smilingly offered stability and leisure by assigning all the unpleasant work to a permanent population of black slaves, while offering subsidies and racial advantages as a narcotic to working-class whites. “Free labor,” he replied, guarantees neither stability nor fairness, but it is “the just and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way for all,” and which “gives hope to all, and energy, and progress and improvement of condition to all.”

Still, even Lincoln acknowledged that without some sort of moral framework to act as a guide, people who were economically free might still choose to impose unjust burdens on others.

In a free democracy where majorities rule, majorities can sometimes choose to do the wrong thing.

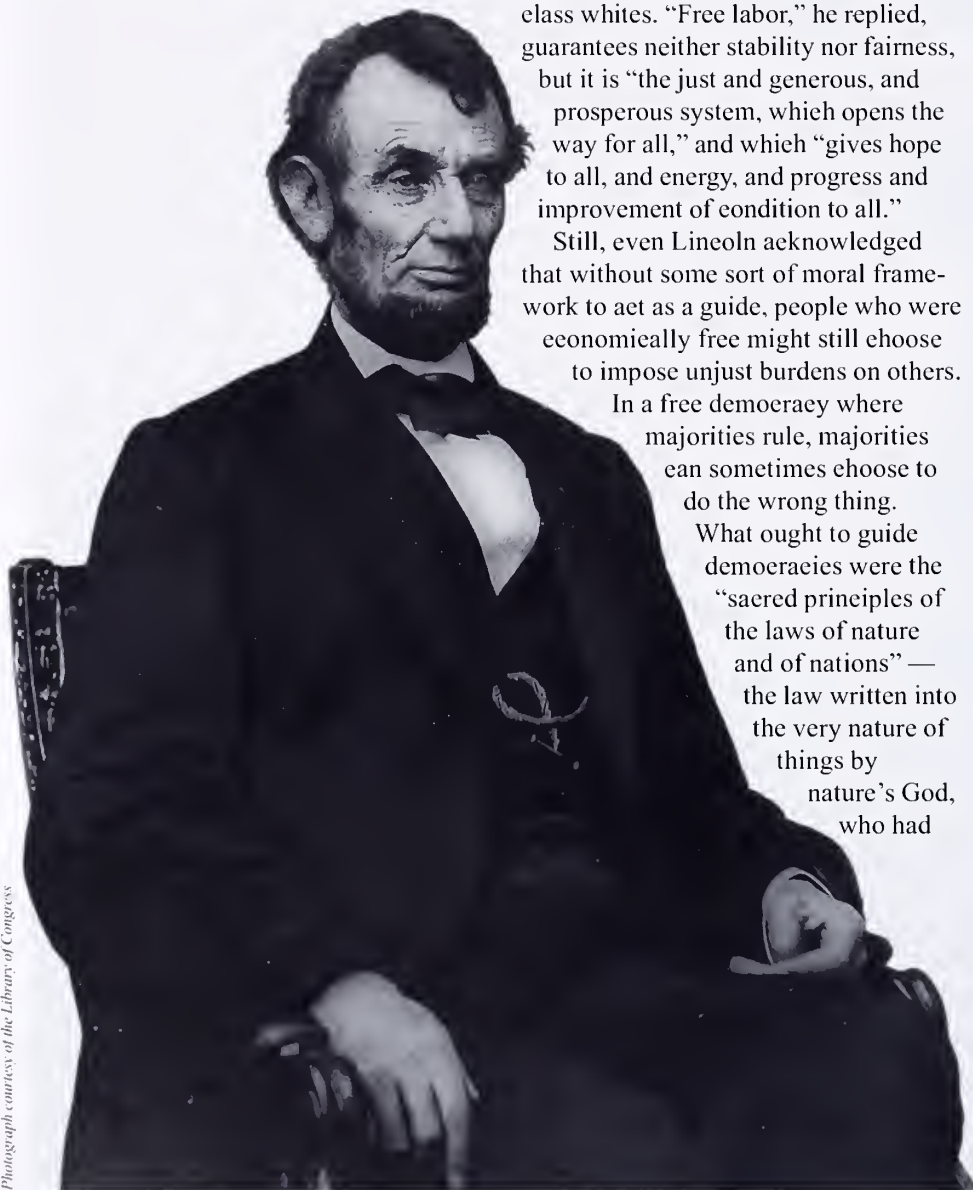
What ought to guide democracies were the “sacred principles of the laws of nature and of nations” — the law written into the very nature of things by nature’s God, who had

hard-wired into every human being a right to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness. “Our government was not established that one man might do with himself as he pleases, and with another man too,” Lincoln believed, and especially not to enslave them on the specious ground of race. “Is not slavery universally granted to be, in the abstract, a gross outrage on the law of nature?” he asked in 1854.

What made Lincoln a great man — what made him *Lincoln* — was not his personality but his principles. True enough, his patience, his eloquence, his understanding of human weakness and his instinctive loathing of oppression make him an ideal vehicle for those principles. But Lincoln’s personal traits were not what made the man; it was his ideas. Lincoln was not a humanitarian. John Todd Stuart, his first law partner, said that Lincoln “felt no special interest in any man or thing — Save & Except politics.” What he loved were “principles and such like large political & national ones.” And Leonard Swett, who practiced law with Lincoln on the old 8th Judicial Circuit in Illinois, wrote in 1866 that “in dealing with men” he was a “trimmer, and such a trimmer the world has never seen.” Yet, he added, “Lincoln never trimmed in principles — it was only in his conduct with men.”

Perhaps, in an age obsessed with celebrities, it is harder for us to be content with a president who had no interest in celebrity. Perhaps, in a time that has grown so shy of appealing to anything like principles, it is harder for us to grasp the nettle of Lincoln’s ideas. But it is there that his greatness lies. And it is, perhaps, there that we will recognize what really made Lincoln *Lincoln*. □

Allen C. Guelzo is the Henry R. Luce III Professor of the Civil War Era at Gettysburg College, where he is director of the Civil War Era Studies Program and The Gettysburg Semester. His most recent book is Lincoln and Douglas: The Debates That Defined America, which was published in 2008. He is the two-time winner of the Lincoln Prize for his books Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President and Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America.



The 16th president was a great man because of his principles rather than his personality.

Pat Quinn

How will the man whom critics described as a gadfly work with the government establishment he so often fought?

Story and photographs by Bethany Jaeger

The next probable governor of Illinois once was booed on the House floor. When this magazine last profiled him in 1980, Statehouse insiders described him as a gadfly who persistently challenged the government establishment and grabbed headlines by holding Sunday news conferences (see *Illinois Issues*, February, 1980, page 4).

Lt. Gov. Pat Quinn takes issue with the gadfly stereotype. He cites a number of reforms that he spurred by organizing grassroots movements, all in the name of democracy in the Land of Lincoln.

Several perceptions of him, however, have transformed since Gov. Rod Blagojevich's arrest on corruption allegations December 9. Some of Quinn's most vocal critics now welcome the prospect that he could drop the word "lieutenant" from his title.

Quinn had not become governor by press time, although it's generally expected that he ultimately will. He would take over if Blagojevich is successfully impeached by the state Senate or convicted in federal court.

Even House Speaker Michael Madigan, who led his chamber in the prolonged booing of Quinn in 1976 — and said then that Quinn didn't deserve to be called a fellow Irishman — changed his tune after Blagojevich's arrest.

"I think that a Gov. Quinn would take a completely different approach to working with the legislature than Gov. Blagojevich has, and, therefore, there'd be a great improvement in the relations



between the two departments of government," Madigan said the day his chamber formed a special committee to investigate cause for Blagojevich's impeachment.

There's widespread hope that Quinn could refresh the atmosphere within the Capitol, although no one knows how he would handle the reins of power or where the former state treasurer would try to steer the state to escape fiscal ruin.

It's hard to tell. Quinn has been careful to avoid stating opinions on such policies as revenue ideas or construction plans.

"Well, I'm not governor. I'm lieutenant governor," he said during a January

phone conversation, adding that he hasn't had access to Blagojevich's budget bureau.

"But if I'm given a different assignment, I will look at the state finances with a clear eye. I don't think the voters are helped at all by any pretense or trying to hide things under the rug. We need to know the economic facts, and we'll address them accordingly."

Gadfly or crusader?

Quinn's past could give a glimpse into the way he approaches state government and politics in the future. He takes issue with the word "gadfly" because, he says, it describes someone who doesn't get anything done.

Since the 1970s, he's been a crusader of sorts for everything from exposing government waste to preventing the name of the Chicago Bears' Soldier Field from becoming something like Preparation H Park at Soldier Field.

He's an organizer. He says he aims to channel the energy of everyday people to "wake up the powers that be."

His first petition drive in 1976, for instance, ended the longtime practice of allowing state legislators to collect their entire salaries on their first day in office.

Two years later, when he finished law school at Northwestern University in Evanston, he commemorated the anniversary of the Boston Tea Party, but with a twist. He organized a campaign for angered citizens to mail used or unused tea bags to state legislators and

then-Gov. James Thompson. The goal was to prevent state officials from granting themselves significant pay raises after their recent elections.

When organizing, “you want to have things that people enjoy doing,” Quinn says.

In 1980, he was at it again, this time trying to change the state Constitution. He led the successful effort to decrease the size of the House from 177 members to 118. Opponents of the so-called cut-back amendment say the reduction and the change to single-member districts consolidated power into the hands of a few, contributing to the political stalemate that has paralyzed state government for the past few years.

Former Illinois Comptroller Dawn Clark Netsch, for one, says while Quinn’s proposal raised a legitimate question, she disagreed with his approach.

“He sold it solely on the grounds, ‘Let’s get rid of one-third of these miserable, no-good, lousy politicians. And we’ll save money, and we’ll make everything work better, and besides that, they’re all greedy and corrupt,’” she says. In retrospect, she believes, the change came at the expense of openness, flexibility, outreach and political balance in the Illinois House.

Quinn flatly disagrees, as he frequently does with Netsch on a variety of policy issues, despite belonging to the same Democratic Party.

“[There] just wouldn’t be as many black legislators or Hispanic legislators if we didn’t end this complicated system that was designed to, I think, dilute the votes of racial minorities.”

Besides, he says, the state Senate has been just as clogged with political stalemates, even though that chamber was not affected by the cutback amendment.

Netsch, who taught at Northwestern University School of Law while Quinn attended, says: “Fortunately, I did not have him in class. I always was able to separate my political life from my academic life. That’s one time I might not have been successful.”

In particular, she takes issue with what she describes as Quinn’s strategies to fight for the average Joe, feeding into some of the cynicism that Illinoisans

have about their government.

“Even when it’s totally justified — like right now, but at anytime — he talks as if he’s the only one who has the people’s interest at heart. And that there is only one approach — and that is his approach — to what is the people’s interest.”

What some perceive as stubbornness, others see as dedication and determination, says Jerry Stermer, president of Voices for Illinois Children, a privately funded organization in Chicago that has a constant presence in the Illinois Capitol.

“Sometimes, the most important way to move the public conversation is to pose a different point of view and to push it fairly aggressively,” he says.

Stermer has known Quinn since the 1970s, when Quinn introduced him to volunteering for political campaigns. Stermer says they were campaigns of independent- and reform-minded people who ran against the entrenched Chicago Democratic machine.

Quinn’s independent streak links to his school of thought that government is by the people, for the people.

“Many of us tend to think of government as ‘they,’” Stermer says, “whereas Pat — and I hope I’m in this camp, as well — this is our government, and this is us, and these are the choices that we’re making. And so when we get it right, Pat is pleased. And when we don’t get it right, he feels that it’s important to speak and to take action and to shape a better approach.”

That was the case in 1983, when Quinn was integral in starting the Citizens Utility Board. The independent agency advocates for affordable utility rates for residential customers.

David Kolata, executive director of the commonly called CUB, says Quinn remains an important ally.

“If Pat Quinn is the next governor, I think it would be good for consumers. I don’t think there’s any question that he takes the consumer perspective on things and is likely to fight for the little guy. That’s what he’s done from the moment he’s been involved in public service, and I would expect that to continue.”

Stermer says rather than a gadfly, Quinn is a crusader, “somebody who has taken on a cause and who is consistent and persistent and stays with it.”

Each has a role to play

Quinn credits his desire to help the less fortunate to his education at Fenwick High School, a Dominican institution in Oak Park. Later, he was a freshman at Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Washington, D.C., when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. The civil rights movement and the Vietnam War also left an imprint before he graduated with a degree in international economics in 1971. He later earned his law degree from Northwestern.

But he also credits his parents, Eileen and the late Patrick Joseph Quinn, a U.S. Navy veteran, for giving him a strong sense of duty and patriotism.

That sense of duty has remained active through his years as lieutenant governor. Elected in 2002, he created the Illinois Military Family Relief Fund to help families recover from the death of an active-duty soldier. He also attends veterans’ funerals, reportedly with no ado.

As part of his Operation Home Front Web site, he also initiated a program where people can donate their unused frequent flier miles to military families who need support to visit injured soldiers.

Other causes range from the environment to eagles, dam safety, alternative fuels, economic development and health initiatives. Quinn once walked 167 miles across Illinois to promote a health care proposal. He annually honors Illinois youth who compete in the National Spelling Bee and encourages service learning through his Chavez Serve and Learn Program, honoring an American folk hero, Cesar Chavez, who devoted his life to helping improve the working conditions of immigrants.

He chairs numerous commissions, including three that aim to preserve Illinois’ rivers, support rural communities and help downtown business districts spur economic growth and restore history. And he starts Web sites designed to bolster grassroots support: www.blackoutsolutions.org for energy conservation and www.operationhomefront.org for veterans support. His own site is www.standingupforillinois.org.



Lt. Gov. Pat Quinn addresses the media in his Statehouse office shortly after Gov. Rod Blagojevich's arrest in December 2008.



He frequently cites Abraham Lincoln and links his initiatives to preserving the Land of Lincoln.

"I feel that everyone has the duty to take care of those who bear the battle. Those are Abraham Lincoln's words. And every person has a role to play in supporting those who are defending our democracy."

Man vs. machine

Quinn's independent streak in the political arena is applauded by some and poses a concern for others.

He was an assistant to former Gov. Dan Walker, another independent-minded man who bucked old-style Chicago Democratic politics. Quinn was elected state treasurer for one term in 1991.

"The powers that be, they don't always bless you when you're running for office," he says. "You don't get endorsed by that crowd. But every campaign I've been involved in is a volunteer affair, with people from every walk of life and background."

While treasurer, he pushed for a state law that protects whistleblowers, people who file lawsuits alleging government waste or corruption.

He also strictly scrutinizes those who offer him political contributions, rejecting donations from utility companies, currency exchanges, insurance companies, horse racetracks or casinos.

"And anybody who donates to my campaign knows that it's only for

advancing the public interest, period. That's that," he says. "I don't offer anything other than that."

David Morrison of the Chicago-based Illinois Campaign for Political Reform says Quinn has a very different approach to fundraising.

"In the way that Blagojevich has put fundraising at the top of everything and raised more money than anyone else in state history, Quinn is at the polar opposite of that continuum. He has not raised much money. He has not cultivated many donors who give to him again and again over time."

He did receive money from a company owned by Tony Rezko, a former Blagojevich insider who was convicted of federal corruption charges and reportedly is cooperating with federal investigators in Blagojevich's criminal case. Rezko's campaign fundraising affected many Illinois politicians. Quinn says he donated the money to charity.

He also received \$90,000 from Blair Hull, a Chicago-based businessman who supported many Democrats and ran unsuccessfully for U.S. Senate in 2004.

Hull declined to comment, but Quinn says they met during a 1994 petition drive to establish term limits for elected officials. Quinn endorsed then-state Sen. Barack Obama over Hull in the 2004 U.S. Senate race.

Quinn also was the only statewide elected official other than Obama to endorse Alexi Giannoulias for state treasurer in 2006. Giannoulias ran against a

Democratic candidate backed by Speaker Madigan.

"There were a lot of people who weren't sure that they wanted me to be the state treasurer because I ran as an independent," Giannoulias says. "And I think that's a testament to [Quinn], to be behind someone who he believes in regardless of what the powers that be tell him to do."

Quinn says he's not worried about past run-ins with the legislature, including his previous clashes with Madigan.

"That's pretty much ancient history," he says, adding, "I get along pretty well with Mike Madigan, I think, today."

Reformer, compromiser or both?

The same day Blagojevich shocked the nation by appointing former Illinois Attorney General Roland Burris to the U.S. Senate despite statements that the Democratic leadership would deny any Blagojevich appointment, Quinn honored 26 Illinois individuals and organizations with "Environmental Hero Awards" for their commitment to environmental health.

Then he reacted to Blagojevich's appointment by saying it insulted the state. The dichotomy exemplifies the diverse perceptions of Quinn.

Illinois Republicans have recently labeled him as a "Blagojevich Democrat." The Illinois governor and lieutenant governor run separately in the primary election but run on the same ticket in the general election. Quinn

repeatedly has spoken out against Blagojevich since 2006, but he's been criticized for doing so only after the re-election campaign, not before.

Last year, Quinn lobbied for a measure, which was aimed at Blagojevich, to amend the state Constitution to allow voters to recall elected officials. More than once, former Senate President Emil Jones Jr. reacted heatedly after Quinn publicly stated that the Senate was "up to shenanigans" and intended to kill the recall measure. Jones said that was wrong and disrespectful and called for an apology, which he never received.

Quinn also held a rally outside of one of Blagojevich's political fundraising events to draw attention to what he thought were inappropriate donations from state contractors, and he joined all of the state's constitutional officers in urging the legislature to enact more ethics reforms to ban that practice.

All that was before Blagojevich's arrest. Since the 76-page federal criminal complaint came down in December, Quinn repeatedly has called for the governor to step aside and said on national television that Blagojevich has "unclean hands." He deems it a crisis.

He has since established a new Illinois Reform Commission, an independent panel intended to be apolitical, charged with designing legislation to prevent wrongful behavior such as the allegations against Blagojevich. It's led by Patrick Collins, a former federal prosecutor who headed the Operation Safe Road investigation that ultimately sent former Illinois Gov. George Ryan to prison.

Quinn says the state doesn't need a cleaning. It needs a fumigating.

His critics and supporters alike say Quinn is clean when it comes to funding his campaigns and prioritizing ethics. But some worry more about whether he, as Illinois governor, would work with the legislature and how he would navigate the ship of state in times of fiscal and political crisis. Some were discouraged by what they saw as indecisiveness after Blagojevich's arrest.

State Rep. Jim Durkin, a Western Springs Republican, says while he respects Quinn's independent streak, he questioned that independence after Quinn altered his response about the

appropriate way to fill the U.S. Senate seat vacated when Obama was elected president.

Quinn initially said he favored a special election to replace Obama, a position consistent with his power-of-the-people past. He then told reporters in Springfield that he felt concerned that a special election might take too long and rob Illinois of its right to a second U.S. senator. Shortly after, Quinn says, he learned of a different version of legislation that would prohibit an arrested governor from appointing a replacement. And when a new governor took office — in this case, Quinn — he or she would fill the seat until a special election resulted in a permanent replacement.

The day-by-day circumstances resulted in the perception that Quinn flip-flopped or was pressured by Capitol Hill Democrats to change his position.

Durkin, for one, says the fluidity of those positions was inconsistent with the Pat Quinn who once held Sunday-night news conferences to defend the rights of the little guy and to demand reforms.

"This is not the Pat Quinn I've watched over the years about making sure that people and ordinary citizens had a voice in state government," Durkin says.

When it was still unclear whether Burris would be seated, Quinn said he supported a special election, but it wouldn't have happened until, by his estimate, June. So if — or when — he became governor, he wanted to be able to appoint a temporary senator. "I endorsed that. I told people of the House that I was for that."

Stermer says it was only human for Quinn to develop and modify his opinion about how best to replace Obama in the Senate.

"That Pat wondered out loud doesn't mean either that he's somebody who's sticking his finger up into the wind to see how it's blowing or somebody who's stubborn. It means that he's the kind of person — and I've always known him to be this — who is deeply committed to thinking through and vigorously debating what might be the best approach to an urgent public question."

His critics and supporters alike say Quinn is clean when it comes to funding his campaigns and prioritizing ethics. But some worry more about whether he, as Illinois governor, would work with the legislature and how he would navigate the ship of state in times of fiscal and political crisis.

Legislators already have a wish list for Quinn: Don't be like Blagojevich. Respect the legislative process. Work with lawmakers to get things done. Don't govern by news release.

Durkin, who went to the same high school as Quinn and remains friends with his family, describes the lieutenant governor as a "very nice, likable guy." He and Quinn just developed polar opposite political views, Durkin says.

"I hope that he will — and I think he's smart enough to — move to the center and understand that state government isn't about a big giveaway, considering the debt that we are sitting on and what we're experiencing all over the nation," Durkin says. "So I hope that he takes the more centered view of his responsibilities as our next governor."

Quinn says he sees 2009 as a year for fundamental reforms, something he feels the public wants. There's potential for a "populist moment," he said. "It occurs from time to time in national and, hopefully, in our state politics, where the will of the people becomes the law of the land."

But change can be slow, particularly in state government. Quinn says the battle to reduce the size of the House, for instance, was fought 28 years ago, but some people are still adjusting.

To that, he says, "You've got to keep pushing along." □

At the crossroads

Evangelical conservatives in Illinois find themselves in need of leadership to stage a resurgence

by Kurt Erickson

In Effingham, at the intersection of two major interstates, stands a 198-foot cross that puts motorists on notice: This is God's country. One needs only to look at the vote totals in this region to find out why it's a fitting location for the towering landmark.

In recent elections, voters have routinely chosen socially conservative candidates. It is one of the rare pockets of Illinois where conservative Republican Alan Keyes beat Barack Obama in Keyes' ill-fated 2004 U.S. Senate race.

President Obama didn't fare well in the area again on November 4.

"Obama lost every county in my district, and a lot of it is over the social issues, where the church plays the strongest," says state Rep. David Reis, a Willow Hill Republican.

The region represents a crossroads for more than just travelers on Interstates 70 and 57. It's where the politics of religion rub up against Illinois' reputation as a staunchly blue state.

And, to hear some conservatives in the wake of the 2008 election, the evangelical political movement in Illinois also is at a crossroads.

Nearly two decades after the Illinois Christian Coalition sought to bring together various religious-minded political groups from throughout the state, Democrats control all statewide offices and the state legislature.

The Republican-leaning coalition, which once claimed 60,000 members,

has all but disappeared. The political movement it had defined is split among a handful of organizations and has no recognized leader.

That doesn't mean voters have changed, says McLean County Republican Party Chairman John Parrott.

Parrott, who was chairman of the Illinois Christian Coalition in the 1990s, says there remain strong feelings among his colleagues about the importance of electing people who share Christian values.

"They are definitely mobilized in different regions, but there is nothing at the state level any more," Parrott says.

While the towering cross in Effingham may represent the epicenter of one of the state's most conservative areas, the focal point of the evangelical movement during the 1990s was Bloomington-Normal.

Parrott, a McLean County businessman, got involved in television broadcaster Pat Robertson's effort to create a coalition of Christians who would push an anti-abortion, anti-tax and anti-gay-rights political agenda.

In its first years, the hallmark of the Christian Coalition was its voter guides, which were distributed in churches in the days leading up to elections.

The guides were aimed at showing the difference between candidates when it came to issues such as abortion, gun control and taxes.

At the state level, the conservative push appeared to be working. Voters in

1992 installed a new breed of Republican in the Illinois Senate, including one, Peter Fitzgerald, who would go on to serve one term in the U.S. Senate.

By the new millennium, however, the Christian Coalition was falling apart at the national level.

The Internal Revenue Service raised red flags about its tax-exempt status. Robertson pulled away from the organization.

As the national organization began to implode, its influence in Illinois waned.

Eastview Christian Church in Normal was once a hot spot for the coalition movement. On the Sunday before elections during the 1990s, the church handed out voter guides, and talk of politics often dominated the cookie and coffee hour after services.

Not so anymore, says Eastview Pastor Mike Baker.

"That really died off four or five years ago," Baker says. "I think it may have been a bit of a phase."

The national coalition's run-in with the IRS was part of the reason Eastview began pulling back from political activity.

"We decided not to dance close to that political line," he says. "The kingdom of God is bigger than politics."

In a sermon in the days before last November's election, Baker urged his parishioners to vote but told them: "I'm not a Democrat or a Republican. I'm a Christian."

No voter guides were distributed.

While the political movement may have moved out of many churches, the activism is still there. In some cases, it has moved from the pulpit to the Internet, where groups such as the Family Taxpayers Network and the United Republican Fund continue to try to rally the faithful and keep tabs on the people in power.

It also manifests itself in letters to the editor, radio talk shows and in coffee shops throughout Reis' largely rural district.

"We have talk radio hosts that just drill at this stuff every day," Reis says.

Longtime conservative activist Paul Caprio is among those who remain on the front lines, even as the centralized effort of the Christian Coalition has vanished.

The veteran political operative recently inserted himself in the battle to replace Frank Watson as the Republican leader in the Illinois Senate.

Caprio, as chief of the conservative Family PAC, wrote that one of the front-runners for Watson's post, eventual winner Sen. Christine Radogno, was "not in the mainstream of Senate Republican thinking on key family issues." Those issues include abortion and gay rights.

Radogno, nonetheless, was easily elected by her Senate Republican colleagues to replace Watson.

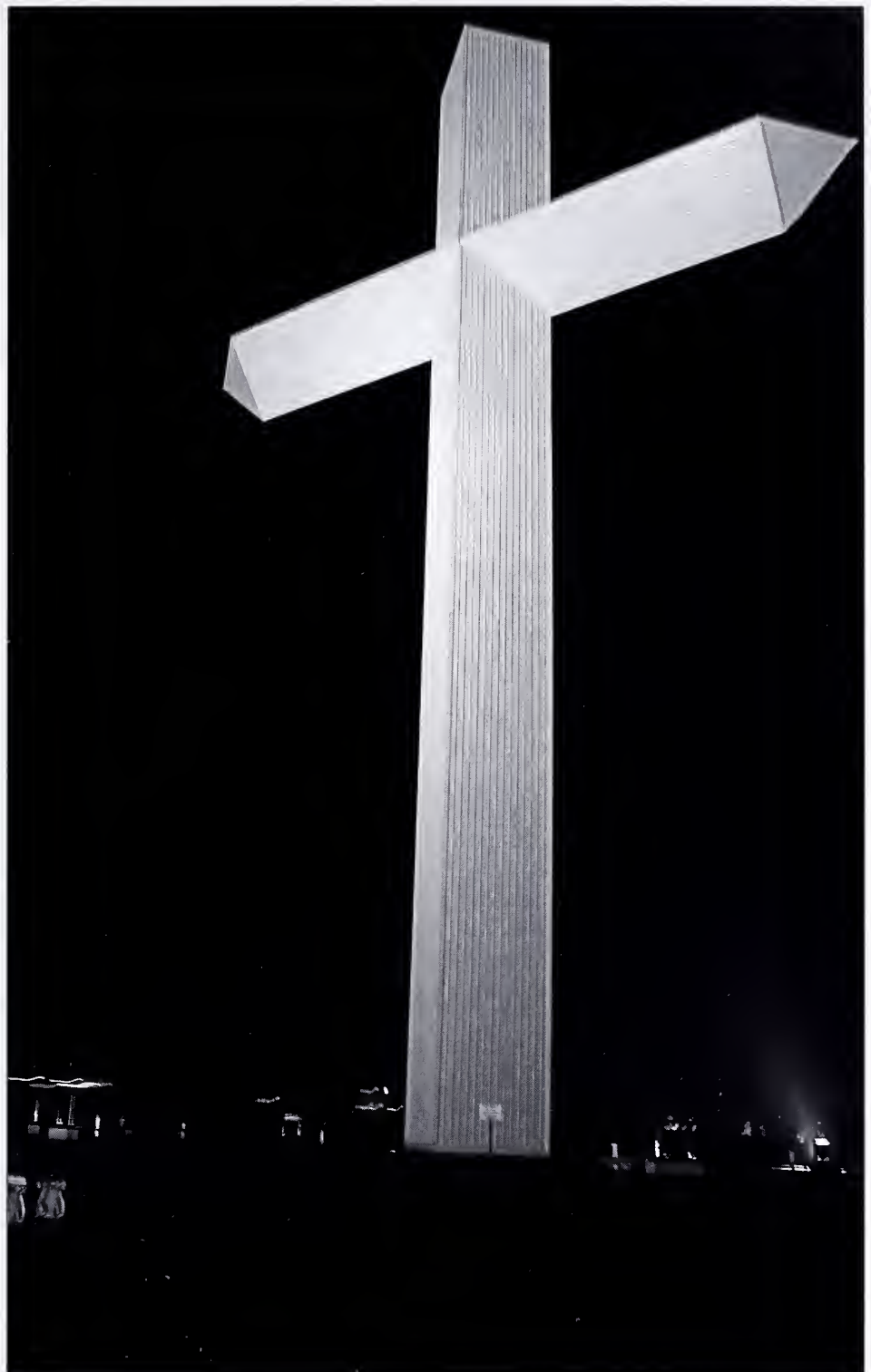
Similarly, other groups are again pushing a plan to put an advisory referendum on the statewide ballot asking voters whether gay marriage should be banned in Illinois. Two previous attempts to get the issue before voters have failed.

In the wake of the 2008 election, both Reis and Parrott believe Illinois conservatives are in a position to begin influencing politics in Illinois.

In addition to the state's Democratic rule, Obama's election could rally the religious right again, depending on how the new president deals with such issues as abortion that are most closely aligned with evangelicals.

"People are going to have to roll up their sleeves and get back to work," Parrott says.

"We're ripe for a resurgence in this area," Reis says. "I think you're going to see a sharp turn."



This 198-foot cross looms high above the intersection of Interstates 57 and 70 in Effingham.

Not everyone agrees.

The Rev. Robert Spriggs, pastor of Sacred Heart Church in Effingham, isn't so sure the Obama administration will spur many to action.

Spriggs says moral and social issues were "very much in the forefront" during the presidential election, meaning voters got a clear view of what they would be

getting in a new chief executive.

Despite concerns about Obama's positions on social issues, the Chicago Democrat won handily.

"They [the Obama campaign] didn't pretend to be anything they weren't," Spriggs says. □

Kurt Erickson is Statehouse bureau chief for Lee Enterprises.

The pain of closure

Communities with state parks and historic sites fear that shuttered attractions will harm business

Story and photographs by Adriana Colindres

At The Red Oak restaurant in Bishop Hill, the specialty is Swedish comfort food, like köttbullar (meatballs) with lingonberries and kåldomar, a beef cabbage roll covered in tomato sauce.

“Everything is done in our own kitchen, [and] nothing arrives prepacked, cooked or preserved,” the menu boasts.

Trisha Rux has owned the place for 13 years. Like other Bishop Hill merchants, she’s fretting about how the recent closure of the Bishop Hill State Historic Site will affect business.

The site was among a dozen and a half state attractions — 11 historic sites and seven parks — that shut down November 30 because of what Gov. Rod Blagojevich said is a \$2 billion hole in the state budget.

David Blanchette, spokesman for the state agency that manages the historic sites, says those closures resulted from \$2.8 million worth of budget cuts to the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency’s historic sites division. That figure represents half of the division’s previous budget of \$5.6 million.

Similarly, money troubles prompted the state park closures, which in turn are fueling concerns among tourism officials and businesspeople who provide goods and services to visitors.

December, January and February typically aren’t popular months for camping, fishing or most other outdoor activities. That means O.K. Welty doesn’t



Southern Illinois’ Fort Kaskaskia, which was built by the French in the mid-1700s, is one of the state historic sites shuttered on November 30.

exactly know yet how two state park closures in Ogle County — especially the one at Lowden State Park — will affect his business. Welty's store, Rock River Outfitters in Oregon, sells bait, tackle, fishing licenses and firewood. He also rents canoes and kayaks.

"That's going to go away," he predicts. "The people are not going to stay in the [Lowden] campgrounds because it's not going to be open. It's going to hurt quite a bit."

Welty hopes his decision to start selling firearms at the store proves to be a "significant buffer for what I'm going to lose next summer."

Padlocking state parks and historic sites is a short-sighted move, advocates for the attractions say.

"It has always astounded and amazed us in this area ... the total disregard for the economic impact that a state park has on an area," says Marcia Heuer, executive director of the Oregon Area Chamber of Commerce. "Economically, this is really going to be devastating for us."

Each of the shuttered historic sites and state parks has unique characteristics that appeal to visitors.

Bishop Hill's claim to fame is its origin: It was founded in 1846 by Swedish immigrants in pursuit of religious freedom who sought to establish a utopian colony. The colony disbanded in 1861 for various reasons, including the onset of the Civil War. But many of the 19th-century buildings remain, and every year the quaint-looking rural burg attracts thousands of visitors who peruse the remnants of the communal society, as well as the modern-day art galleries, shops and eateries.

The state-run historic site at Bishop Hill consists of three separate structures: the Colony Church, the Bjorklund Hotel and a museum featuring the paintings of Olof Krans. Bishop Hill is situated off the beaten path, about 10 miles southwest of Kewanee in Henry County, and getting there requires some effort.

"This is a long ways to drive not to have a full experience. It's one thing looking at a building from the outside, and it's a totally different thing going in and seeing really what these people did when they came here," Rux says.

"We need those buildings to make the full experience," she adds. "I could understand if we were five minutes from a big metropolitan city. Sure, you would still have people that might come to see the outside of the church or outside of the hotel, to get the sense of it. But that's not us out here."

Already, members of the Bishop Hill community have begun implementing strategies to try to offset the loss of the historic site.

Sherry Linscott, who owns two shops in town, says volunteers are producing a short documentary film about the now-closed buildings. It will be shown in the Steeple Building, an 1850s-era structure that originally was built as a hotel and now houses the Bishop Hill Heritage Association's offices and museum. The documentary is meant to lessen the sting of the site closure for Bishop Hill's visitors.

"Even though you may not go into the buildings, you still can see what they look like inside," Linscott says. "It's a way that they can still keep the heritage and history alive, to an extent."

Merchants also have posted signs in their windows to send a message to tourists: "This business will remain open in spite of state site closings." When news surfaced about the site closures, many people misinterpreted that as meaning the entire town was shutting down, Rux says.

According to Kim Rosendahl, director of tourism at the Springfield Convention and Visitors Bureau, that's not an unusual reaction. "That's a perception that we've been working really hard to overcome, in terms of our marketing efforts," she says.

The Springfield Convention and Visitors Bureau is trying not to focus on the closed sites near the capital city, but rather on the fact that 2009 marks the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth. Even though Lincoln wasn't born in Springfield, he lived there for nearly



Trisha Rux, owner of The Red Oak restaurant in Bishop Hill, worries that the closure of the state historic site in her community will spell harm for her business.

25 years — longer than anywhere else.

What that means, says Rosendahl, is this: "Springfield is the place that you're going to go to get the most Lincoln history."

The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum, which remains open, serves as the "anchor piece" for visitors looking to learn more about the 16th president, she says. "You walk out the door and you're within blocks of seeing the places mentioned in the museum," such as the Lincoln-Herndon law office and the Old State Capitol, both of which are also still open.

Though tourism officials, merchants and others across Illinois say they're working to adapt to the state closures, what they really want is for the historical attractions and state parks to reopen.

Illinois lawmakers generally agree that state government should restore funding, but how soon that might happen is uncertain. In the meantime, several of them have banded together to push for legislation that would let local organizations, such as colleges, temporarily manage the shuttered historic sites and parks. The idea failed to advance in the 95th General Assembly, which drew to a close January 13. Rep. Donald Moffitt, a Gilson Republican, says he will file a similar bill now that the new two-year cycle of the 96th General Assembly is under way.

Without disclosing any specifics, Moffitt says some of his constituents have expressed "initial interest" in exploring the notion of local manage-

The Springfield Convention and Visitors Bureau is trying not to focus on the closed sites near the capital city, but rather on the fact that 2009 marks the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth. Even though Lincoln wasn't born in Springfield, he lived there for nearly 25 years — longer than anywhere else.

ment to re-open the Carl Sandburg birthplace in Galesburg and the Bishop Hill State Historic Site.

What ultimately occurs with the closed state parks and historic sites may hinge, at least in part, on who the Illinois governor is. That's a legitimate question, considering the events of December 9, 2008. Blagojevich was arrested that day on federal corruption charges, including an alleged effort to auction off President Barack Obama's former U.S. Senate seat.

While the pending criminal case threatens to put Blagojevich behind bars, his job security also is imperiled by the Illinois General Assembly. The House of Representatives impeached him, a move that triggers a trial in the state Senate. If two-thirds, or 40, senators vote to convict Blagojevich, he will be ousted as governor, and Lt. Gov. Pat Quinn would fill the resulting vacancy.

Speaking to reporters a couple of days after Blagojevich's arrest, Quinn indicated that if he becomes governor, he would reverse Blagojevich's decision to cease operations at selected state parks and historic sites.

"I think they should be reopened promptly, right now, today." □

Adriana Colindres is a reporter in the state Capitol bureau for the Peoria Journal Star and GateHouse Media.

Closed sites

The state's seemingly ever-worsening budget troubles prompted closure of more than a dozen state parks and historic sites at the end of November.

Two other historic sites, the Bryant Cottage in Bement and the David Davis Mansion in Bloomington, faced the prospect of closure, but local efforts are keeping them open, says Illinois Historic Preservation Agency spokesman David Blanchette. For instance, the David Davis Mansion Foundation came up with funding for that site.

In addition, an anonymous donor chipped in almost \$36,000 in December to ensure that the Vandalia State House Historic Site keeps operating through June 30, which is the end of the state fiscal year.

Here's a rundown of the historic sites that are shuttered for now:

- Dana-Thomas House, Springfield, designed by renowned architect Frank Lloyd Wright. It had 41,045 visitors in 2007, according to IHPA.
- Black Hawk State Historic Site, Rock Island, which commemorates Native Americans who lived in the area. The Hauberg Indian Museum has closed, but the natural areas and lodge are staying open. 138,668 visitors in 2007.
- Lincoln Log Cabin, near Charleston, the final residence of Abraham Lincoln's father and step-mother, who moved there in 1837. 82,735 visitors in 2007.
- Fort de Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, a large stone structure built in the 1700s when the French occupied territory that eventually became the state of Illinois. 38,100 visitors in 2007.
- Bishop Hill Museum, Colony Church and Bjorklund Hotel in Henry County. 19,551 visitors in 2007.
- Carl Sandburg State Historic Site, Galesburg, birthplace of the Pulitzer Prize-winning writer, whose work included poetry and a biography of Lincoln. 8,598 visitors in 2007.
- Cahokia Courthouse, Cahokia, built in 1740 during the French colonial

period. 8,414 visitors in 2007.

- Jubilee College, near Brimfield, which commemorates a theological and educational institution founded by Philander Chase, Illinois' first Episcopal bishop. 72,780 visitors in 2007.
- Apple River Fort, Elizabeth, site of a battle during the Black Hawk War in 1832. 24,693 visitors in 2007.
- Fort Kaskaskia, Ellis Grove, built by the French in the mid-1700s to defend Kaskaskia, then an important center of business.
- Pierre Menard Home, Ellis Grove, a French Creole-style structure built in the early 1800s for Menard, a fur trader and Illinois' first lieutenant governor. Together, Fort Kaskaskia and the Menard Home drew 23,086 visitors in 2007.

Seven state parks also closed or partially closed at the end of November.

They are:

- Castle Rock State Park, Oregon in Ogle County.
- Lowden State Park, Oregon in Ogle County.
- Illini State Park, Marseilles in LaSalle County. Boat access area remains open.
- Hidden Springs State Forest, Strasburg in Shelby County. Some access to hunters with site-specific hunting permits.
- Moraine View State Recreation Area, LeRoy in McLean County. Some access to archery deer and rabbit hunters with site-specific permits.
- Weldon Springs State Park, Clinton in DeWitt County. A lakeside trail remains accessible, as does a cemetery.
- Wolf Creek State Park, Windsor in Shelby County. A high-water boat ramp will be open when the water level in Lake Shelbyville is 610 feet or higher. Some access to hunters with site-specific permits.

SOURCES: *Illinois Historic Preservation Agency; Illinois Department of Natural Resources.*

Youth justice

Reformers want the state to redouble its efforts to help juvenile criminal offenders

by Whitney Woodward

Some 110 years ago, Illinois rocketed to the forefront of juvenile justice when it created what was known as the first state “children’s court,” a separate legal system for minors. The court aimed to give age-appropriate attention to delinquent youths to help them become productive members of society.

But in the 1980s and 1990s, as crime rates increased, juvenile justice systems across the nation came under scrutiny as being too “soft” on young offenders. Most states, including Illinois, passed laws making it easier to charge people younger than 18 as an adult. That made those violators eligible for harsher penalties than if they were treated as children.

Now with piles of national research showing that young offenders respond better than their adult peers to rehabilitation and age-appropriate skills training, juvenile justice advocates are pushing for Illinois to revamp the way it treats youth offenders. That task has largely been placed in the hands of the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice, a state agency created in 2006 to provide better care to minors. But while advocates lauded the creation of the department — its mission includes the rehabilitation of children — they also want the state to redouble its efforts to keep children out of the juvenile system to begin with by changing state laws and building up community-based services.

As the Department of Corrections’ adult population ballooned by the thousands, age-appropriate or specialized care for the department’s youths, who constituted such a small portion of the department’s overall population, went by the wayside.

“If you lock kids up and keep them ... if you treat them very harshly and punitively within these settings that have very few programs and planning for their future, then of course they have no choice; they’re going to repeat offend,” says Betsy Clarke, president of the Juvenile Justice Initiative, a statewide advocacy coalition created in 2000 with help from the MacArthur Foundation and the Woods Fund of Chicago. “So we’re hoping to turn back the clock, take Illinois back to where we were: the leader in the country in juvenile programming.”

The creation of the Illinois Department of Juvenile Justice, a separate entity for juvenile corrections, came as part of a decade-long national trend to

separate minors from states’ correctional systems.

In Illinois, the state’s juvenile division had been rolled into the purview of the adult corrections department more than two decades ago, an organizational shift that ultimately led to a change in philosophy about how state officials viewed troubled youths. By the start of this decade, the juvenile division had been “stripped” of many of its resources and did not have its own philosophy to guide it, says Kurt Friedenauer, director of the Department of Juvenile Justice. Instead, the Department of Corrections’ emphasis for juveniles was on law enforcement — just like in the adult division.

“What happened over the years was that the mission and identity of the juvenile division became more and more blurred and came to look more and more like a clone image of adult corrections,” Friedenauer says.

The growing number of incarcerated adults exacerbated the problem. As the Department of Corrections’ adult population ballooned by the thousands, age-appropriate or specialized care for the department’s youths, who constituted such a small portion of the department’s overall population, went by the wayside, Clarke says. As such, children who were detained were less likely to receive specialized services and care.

Not surprisingly, youth recidivism rates swelled.

“As a result, more and more kids were failing when they left the system. Fewer kids were getting services while they were in the system,” Friedenauer says. “It really was ineffective, and it was basically failed public policy.”

Justice reform advocates and concerned legislators called for a radical change in the treatment of minors in the juvenile justice system, pushing for a clean break from the adult system.

Their call was answered in 2005, when lawmakers passed legislation creating the Department of Juvenile Justice. Friedenauer says that while the Department of Corrections’ primary function is incarceration, his agency focuses on both public safety and rehabilitation for its youth offenders. In the two years since the department began operating, Friedenauer says it has focused on renovating existing pro-

grams, such as the department’s school district. The agency also is working to develop curricula and services to teach children the skills they will need for successful re-entry to society, such as educational and anger management training.

But Friedenauer says his fledgling department’s progress is hindered by a virtually stagnant funding level. The department was given a budget of roughly \$125 million in 2006, the same amount juvenile operations had received when part of the Department of Corrections the previous year. It has received no significant increases in the years since, he says.

Among the frozen plans is an effort for the department to create its own “after-care system” for juveniles released from detention facilities, an alternative to the traditional parole system.

The largest group of juvenile parole offenders are nabbed on technical violations. They haven’t been arrested on new charges but instead have violated terms of their parole, which can be for relatively minor infractions such as skipping school, Friedenauer says. “That tells us that ... we need to have a structured support system to help these kids get back in the community,” he says, and to provide a “range of sanctions” to rein them in if they start to stumble.

Although Friedenauer estimates that since the department was created, the rate of juvenile parole violators has dropped from more than 60 percent to 45 to 47 percent, he says he’s not satisfied with that near-half failure rate. “At least it’s not going up any more, but we’ve still got a long way to go. If over time we put the building blocks in place and in our communities for an effective re-entry system ... we will see a significant reduction of kids failing.”

Clarke agrees with Friedenauer’s assessment that the re-entry process for youths must be improved. But she says both the state and the public would be better served by keeping youths out of the department completely by helping offenders in their communities.

Technical violators, such as those sent back to detention facilities for minor parole violations, constitute about a

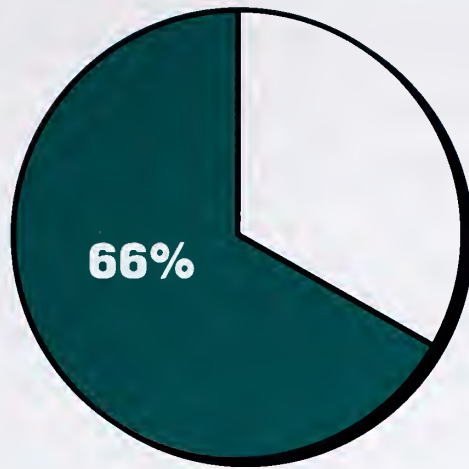


Juvenile justice statistics

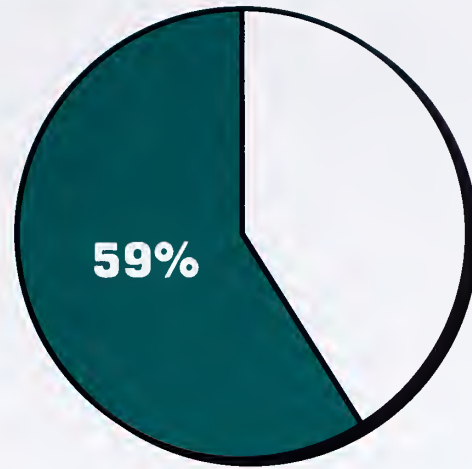
	United States	Illinois
Estimated daily count of youth in custody	92,854	2,631
Number of detained youth per 100,000 (ages 10-15)	125	62
Ratio of youth of color detained vs. white youth	3 to 1	3 to 1

Source: Annie E. Casey Foundation Kids Count report for 2008, based on 2006 figures.

Percent of children in custody for nonviolent crimes



United States



Illinois

Source: Annie E. Casey Foundation Kids Count report for 2008, based on 2006 figures.

third of the state's juvenile population. And as of the end of 2008, more than 1,300 juveniles were locked up in Illinois facilities, Clarke says. While eight had been convicted of murder, about 100 were locked up for misdemeanors. "That means that we're locking up a huge percent of kids for low-level offenses."

Although juveniles in Illinois were detained in 2006 at half the national rate, too many children are incarcerated, concluded a June report by Voices for Illinois Children and the Juvenile Justice Initiative. About 59 percent of youths in custody were being held for nonviolent offenses, as compared with 66 percent across the country. The groups noted that children confined in correctional facilities tend to have long-term problems, ranging from low wages to chronic health concerns.

In detention facilities, Clarke says some youths are still treated as if they're adult prisoners, subjected to harsh penalties, such as a week in isolation for mouthing off to a guard. However, she says under Friedenauer's department, some conditions have improved.

"We have facilities that have two, three hundred kids in them. You can't run a therapeutic facility with that kind of population. You can't get the care and attention you need at that level."

Instead of pumping more money into the department, Clarke would like to see more state funding put into alternatives,

such as Redeploy Illinois, an intervention program designed to keep high-risk youths out of the corrections system by offering children services in their communities. Redeploy Illinois, which began as a pilot program in 2005 and operates in only four regions of the state, has been successful at reducing the number of children committed to the Department of Juvenile Justice by 44 percent during its first two years.

Proponents say Redeploy Illinois saves taxpayers money by helping children instead of incarcerating them, which costs the state about \$70,000 per child each year. In St. Clair County, the number of children incarcerated has dropped from more than 80 each year to an estimated 11 children in FY 2008, says Lynn Jarman, a director of youth and family counseling for Children's Home + Aid, the agency that oversees Redeploy Illinois for the region. The program slashes incarcerations by stepping in when the court is considering sending a child to the Department of Juvenile Justice. Through the program, youth offenders receive intensive, specialized services ranging from anger management to tutoring to other pro-social assistance.

"A lot of these kids have never had the normal life experiences that our children get to have," Jarman says. "They haven't had a dance lesson. They haven't done all the kinds of activities that allow kids to build pro-social behaviors. And

because they have not, then it's hard for us to serve them. One of the best things we can do for kids, any kid, is to involve them in positive activities."

Jarman says most children stay under the care of Redeploy Illinois for many months — some up to two years — and service providers are on-call 24-hours a day to help children during crises.

Unlike in the Department of Juvenile Justice, children in Redeploy Illinois programs are given a second chance for such minor parole violations as playing hooky from school and others.

"As long as we're working toward a positive outcome, the court is demanding, but they're lenient in the fact that they're not sending them to the Department of Juvenile Justice," Jarman says. "Kids don't get to be adults without making mistakes, and we realize that."

Psychology and criminology experts have long concluded that the majority of youth offenders' brains and cognitive functioning have not fully developed. As such, ramping up penalties for children often fails to deter minors from breaking the law, but rehabilitation and reform models do.

Backed by that research, juvenile justice advocates also are working with state legislators to revise other laws governing youth offenders.

In the 1980s and 1990s, lawmakers passed a handful of bills establishing mandatory minimum sentences for crimes and other laws requiring youths

who were accused of a host of crimes to be sent automatically to adult court, where they would face greater sanctions and fewer opportunities for rehabilitation.

While the changes were passed with the intention of protecting public safety and discouraging crime, reform advocates say the laws instead have unjustly punished youths — primarily minorities — with ramifications that sometimes stretch well into their adult lives.

“There was this political fever, and it wasn’t thought to be safe to vote against law and order, to vote against these supposed soft-on-crime bills,” Clarke says. “So a lot of these laws passed because there was the fear that [the lawmakers] who voted against these measures would lose their seats.”

Advocates scored a victory three years ago when the General Assembly changed a law that had required minors accused of some drug offenses to be sent to adult criminal courts. That requirement, which was adopted in the mid-1980s, had mandated that 15- and 16-year-olds accused of drug offenses within 1,000 feet of schools or public housing developments be automatically tried as adults. The mandate removed judges’ discretion to keep those cases in the juvenile justice system, even when they involved small-time drug offenders.

Advocates also charged that the automatic transfer law unfairly targeted minorities, who compose the majority of the state’s public housing residents, and children from low-income families, many of whom live in urban areas. Adult convictions had the potential to haunt juvenile offenders for years afterward. That’s because their criminal records cost them their eligibility for federal financial aid to attend college or to get public housing and endangered their chances of getting jobs.

The youths were statistically twice as likely to become repeat offenders as minors who were not sent to the adult justice system, Clarke says. Plus, accused youths sent to adult court had greatly reduced access to services designed to reduce recidivism, such as pretrial after-school programs.

“The adult conviction was a real barrier to them moving ahead in their life,” Clarke says.

“There was this political fever, and it wasn’t thought to be safe to vote against law and order, to vote against these supposed soft-on-crime bills. So a lot of these laws passed because there was the fear that [the lawmakers] who voted against these measures would lose their seats.”

Hundreds of Illinois children have been helped by the repeal of the automatic drug transfer law by keeping them from becoming branded as adult offenders, according to a June report by the Juvenile Justice Initiative. The group found that in the two years since the change went into effect, the number of youths automatically transferred to adult court in Cook County alone decreased by almost two-thirds. The advocacy coalition also found no significant increase in judicial caseloads, which the group says shows that the repeal of the law has not jeopardized public safety.

Having scored that victory, juvenile justice reform advocates are pushing for additional legislative changes.

Senate Bill 2275, which awaits Gov. Rod Blagojevich’s signature, would increase to 18 the age of offenders who could be charged as juveniles for misdemeanor crimes, beginning in 2010. The legislation also would create a temporary panel to study increasing the juvenile jurisdiction age for youths charged with felonies.

“Raising that age would allow kids to still be kids,” says Rep. Art Turner, a Chicago Democrat who is one of the bill’s sponsors. “It’s been proven that, I think, in the long run, it’s a better thing. It allows them to learn from their mistakes.”

And Turner says he expects a proposal to end mandatory life prison sentences

for youths who commit some serious crimes to be reintroduced in this legislative session. Former state Rep. Bob Molaro, a Chicago Democrat, introduced a similar bill last session, but the plan gained no traction in the General Assembly.

Currently, slightly more than 100 children are serving life sentences for crimes they committed when they were younger than 18, according to the Illinois Coalition for the Fair Sentencing of Children. Anne Geraghty, who heads the law firm DLA Piper’s Juvenile Justice Project in Chicago, says it’s unfair to punish offenders for the rest of their lives for crimes they committed as children, when many were involved in gangs and grew up in extreme poverty.

“These kids are never given a chance to prove themselves, to prove that they’re capable of change,” Geraghty says. “They go in at 15, 16, 17 years old, and they’re written off as not redeemable. They haven’t been given the chance to prove that they can become productive members of society.”

Geraghty says the Illinois Coalition for the Fair Sentencing of Children would like to see lawmakers carve a way for incarcerated youth offenders to earn parole if they demonstrate they’re rehabilitated.

“We’re not saying let every single person out,” Geraghty says. “They’re all there for pretty horrendous crimes. What we would like to see is some sort of meaningful opportunity for review.”

While lawmakers have historically been reluctant to embrace proposals that their constituents might view as “soft,” Turner says a growing number of his colleagues are seeing the wisdom in refocusing the state’s efforts toward rehabilitation.

“We need to see what we can do to restore faith in our kids and faith in our system. We have to be about the business of rehabilitating kids and not necessarily punishing them unjustly. Punishing them, it’s been proven that that’s not really the answer,” Turner says. “That’s the time to catch them, when they’re young.” □

Whitney Woodward is free-lance reporter based in Chicago. She has covered Statehouses in Illinois, Iowa and North Carolina.

Illinois Farm Bureau builds bridges between rural and urban people



Understanding the unique needs of all areas of Illinois makes our state legislators better lawmakers. IFB's Adopt a Legislator Program links urban legislators with rural farm families.

Farmer members of Illinois Farm Bureau visit the districts of urban legislators. Through on-farm visits our state lawmakers get a unique perspective of life in the country, and help build lifetime bonds.

For more information go to:

www.ilfb.org



IFB thanks those legislators who extended their hand of friendship through the Adopt a Legislator Program:

Luis Arroyo, Suzanne Bassi, Maria Antonia (Toni) Berrios, James Brosnahan, Daniel Burke, Linda Chapa La Via, Annazette Collins, Marlow Colvin, Elizabeth Coulson, Fred Crespo, M. Maggie Crotty, John Cullerton, John D'Amico, Monique Davis, William Davis, William Delgado, Kenneth Dunkin, Jim Durkin, Sara Feigenholtz, Mary Flowers, LaShawn Ford, John Fritchey, Paul Froehlich, Susan Garrett, Esther Golar, Deborah Graham, Julie Hamos, Don Harmon, Greg Harris, Rickey Hendon, Elizabeth Hernandez, Constance Howard, Randall Hultgren, Mattie Hunter, Kevin Joyce, Dan Kotowski, Carolyn Krause, Louis Lang, Kimberly Lightford, Joseph Lyons, Edward Maloney, Iris Martinez, Karen May, Michael McAuliffe, Kevin McCarthy, Susana Mendoza, David Miller, Robert Molaro, Rosemary Mulligan, Antonio Munoz, Matt Murphy, Elaine Nekritz, Harry Osterman, Carole Pankau, Sandra Pihos, Christine Radogno, Kwame Raoul, Al Riley, Robert Rita, Carol Ronen, Martin Sandoval, Angelo (Skip) Saviano, Jeffrey Schoenberg, Cynthia Soto, Heather Steans, Donne Trotter, Arthur Turner, Louis Viverito, Eddie Washington, and Karen Yarbrough

INPR4008GS1208

Inn^{at}

835

HISTORIC HOTEL
CATERING AND EVENTS

Eat.

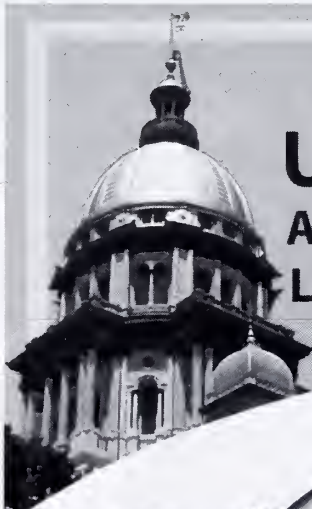
Meet.

Mingle.

Sleep.

835 South 2nd Street
Springfield, IL 62704
217-523-4466
www.innat835.com

What Happens Under This Dome Affects the Business Climate Locally and Across the State



*Best Broadcast
coverage of the
State on WUIS.*



Amanda Vinicky

Sean Crawford

WUIS 91.9 WIPA 89.3
Smarter Radio. Smarter You.

Regional News Updates: 6:30 a.m., 7:30 a.m.,
8:30 a.m., noon, 4:30 p.m. and 5:30 p.m.

OBITS

Wyvetter Younge

Rep. Wyvetter Younge

The 33-year state representative from the East St. Louis area died December 26. She was 79.

She was elected to the district in 1975, making her one of the longest-serving members in the 95th General Assembly. Her priorities were education and social services.

"I have seen her cry and fight to get some things for that community that were needed," says Rep. Monique Davis, a Chicago Democrat and fel-

low member of the Legislative Black Caucus. "She was a remarkable legislator who worked very hard to provide for and protect her community."

Younge most recently served as a House assistant majority

leader and served on a number of committees that oversaw education funding, child support, environmental health and urban development.

She also recently shocked others after she was robbed at her home at gunpoint. Younge said that she would pray for the robber and hoped that he would find a job and get his life on track. Rep. Tom Holbrook, Belleville Democrat, says Younge's response was an example of her caring nature.

She attended Hampton University in Virginia, St. Louis University Law School and Washington University Law School in St. Louis. Younge, an assistant circuit attorney for the city of St. Louis, was a member of the Missouri Bar and the NAACP. She was also executive director of the East St. Louis Housing Corp. She is replaced in the Illinois House by **Eddie Jackson Sr.**, former East St. Louis City Council president and a former teacher and principal.

Ted Lechowicz

The former legislator died January 5. He was 70.

A lifelong resident of Chicago's North Side, Lechowicz served as a first lieutenant in the Illinois Army National Guard before beginning his career in politics as a precinct captain in the 1960s.

A Democratic committeeman in the 30th Ward for more than 25 years, he served 14 years in the Illinois House for the 6th District. He later became assistant majority leader. He joined the Senate in 1983. Starting in 1990, he served 12

years as a Cook County commissioner. Lechowicz was a voice for neighboring communities, always fighting for the needs of his constituents, according to his family.

He advocated for the rights of ethnic communities, particularly Polish residents. During his time in the General Assembly, Lechowicz served as vice chairman on the appropriations committee. He also was a member of committees overseeing veterans' affairs, labor and commerce and economic forecasting.

Contest brews for open 5th District congressional seat

As of mid-January, six candidates, including two current state legislators, filed with the Illinois State Board of Elections for the opportunity to go to Congress to replace U.S. Rep. **Rahm Emanuel**, who resigned to become chief of staff to President **Barack Obama**. Gov. **Rod Blagojevich** set April 7 for a special election, with a March 3 primary.

State Rep. **Sara Feigenholtz** and Rep. **John Fritchey**, both Chicago Democrats, have strong name recognition and fundraising organizations, and many political pundits give them the lead in what is expected to be a crowded field. Among the newcomers who filed by press time are **Deb Leticia Gordils**, Green Party; **Tom Hanson**, Republican; and Democrats **Justin Oberman**, son of

former 43rd Ald. **Marty Oberman**, and **Charles Wheelan**.

The 5th District historically votes Democratic, so the winner of the primary is expected to win the special election and take over the seat. Blagojevich represented the district before leaving it to run for governor in 2002.

The 5th was held for one term by Republican **Michael Flanagan**, who defeated Democratic Rep. **Dan Rostenkowski** in 1994 after the powerful 36-year veteran was indicted on corruption charges.

Several Chicago politicians also have signaled their intentions but had not yet filed by press time. They include Cook County Commissioner **Mike Quigley** and Aids. **Thomas Allen**, **Pat**

O'Connor and **Gene Schuller**.

Former state Rep. **Nancy Kaszak** ran twice for the seat and was defeated in the primary by Blagojevich. State Rep. **Deborah Mell**, daughter of Ald. **Dick Mell** and sister-in-law to the governor, filed papers with the Federal Election Commission but withdrew her name before being sworn in to the newest Illinois General Assembly last month.

Clarification

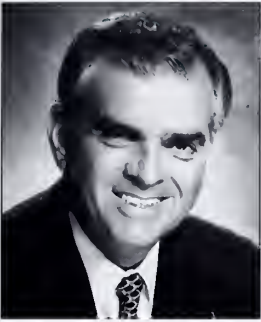
In 1973, **Cardiss Collins** was the first African-American woman elected to the U.S. House from Illinois. A November item could have led readers to believe she was the first African-American woman elected in the nation, a distinction that belongs to **Shirley Chisholm** of New York in 1968.

For updated news see the *Illinois Issues* Web site at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

Shifts at the top

Gov. Rod Blagojevich named Clayton Harris III as chief of staff. He replaces John Harris, no relation, who resigned after being arrested with the governor on December 9. Clayton Harris III joined the governor's staff as a deputy chief of staff in August 2008. He had been a chief of staff at the state Department of Transportation.

Obama names central Illinoisan to his Cabinet



Ray LaHood

President Barack Obama named Ray LaHood, the former U.S. representative from Peoria, as transportation secretary. Obama made good on his

LaHood, who had served in Congress 14 years, opted not to run for re-election in 2008. He replaces Mary Peters.

The secretary of transportation oversees a department with a \$70.3 billion budget and 60,000 employees. Some of the agencies under its umbrella include the Federal Aviation Administration, the Federal Highway Administration and the Federal Transit Administration.

Noting that LaHood had served six years on the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, Obama said, "Throughout his career, Ray has fought to improve mass transit and invest in our highways."

LaHood, 63, earned a bachelor's degree in education and sociology from Bradley University in Peoria in 1971.

promise to practice bipartisanship by naming LaHood, a Republican, to his Cabinet. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates is a holdover from the Bush administration.

"Ray's appointment reflects that bipartisan spirit — a spirit we need to reclaim in this country to make progress for the American people," said then-President-elect Obama in a statement.

CONGRESS

Illinoisans named to influential House committees

The U.S. House and Senate named members to committees and subcommittees after swearing in the 111th Congress on January 6.

As of mid-January, some members of the Illinois delegation with new assignments to House committees are:

- Rep. **Phil Hare**, Democrat from Moline, and Rep. **Aaron Schock**, Republican from Peoria — Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.
- Rep. **Danny Davis**, Democrat from Chicago, and Rep. **Peter Roskam**, Republican from Wheaton — Committee on Ways and Means.
- Rep. **Deborah Halvorson**, Democrat from Crete — Committee on Agriculture.

ILLINOIS HISTORY SYMPOSIUM

2009

"Abraham Lincoln in Ante-Bellum Illinois: 1830-1861"

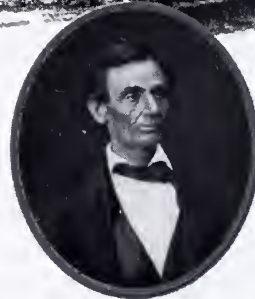
MARCH 26-28, 2009

ILLINOIS COLLEGE, JACKSONVILLE

CALL 217-525-2781 FOR MORE INFORMATION

Sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society and Illinois College
www.historyillinois.org

Beecher Hall 1829, Illinois College
Oldest College Building in Illinois
Jacksonville



February is Children's Dental Health Month!

TURN UP YOUR

SMILE POWER!



visit us at
www.isds.org



Write us

Your comments are welcome.
Please keep them brief (250 words).
We reserve the right to excerpt them.

Letters to the Editor

Illinois Issues

One University Plaza, MS HRB 10
University of Illinois at Springfield
Springfield, IL 62704-5407
e-mail address on Internet:
dheupel@uis.edu

And visit *Illinois Issues* online by going to:
<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

TRI STATES
PUBLIC RADIO
WIUM 91.3 & WIUW 89.5



Around the corner or
around the world, stay
informed — listen online at
tristatesradio.com

WIUM 91.3 FM — WIUW 89.5 FM

News Department : rg-egger@wiu.edu —or— 800.895.2912



Apply for Fall 2009 Class

**Doctoral Degree
in Administration and Policy
for
Public Service
Practitioners**

**Application
Deadline: March 15, 2009**

**Information: 217-206-6310
dpa@uis.edu**

DID YOU KNOW?

65%*

Of our readers consider the *Roster* an
important part of their decision to
subscribe to *Illinois Issues*.

The *2009 Roster of State Government Officials* will
be published and mailed to all *Illinois Issues* sub-
scribers in March. For additional copies of the
Roster, see the ad in this issue, or call 217-206-6084.

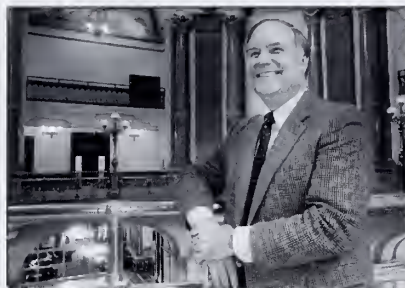
Illinois Issues

The state's leading public affairs magazine

<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

**Illinois Issues* 2006 Readership Survey

Charles N. Wheeler III



The governor's troubles distract from Illinois' budget woes

by Charles N. Wheeler III

In recent weeks, the Gov. Rod Blagojevich sideshow has attracted an international audience, with its latest twists and turns now regular fare on the BBC's world news broadcasts.

While becoming an international laughingstock is certainly embarrassing, the unwanted attention also has created an unwelcome distraction from the grave problems facing the state and its citizens.

Case in point: A few days before the Illinois House impeached Blagojevich, with everyone wondering whether the vote would be unanimous, hardly anyone took notice of the latest grim diagnosis of the state's fiscal health detailed by Comptroller Daniel Hynes.

During the first six months of the current fiscal year, Hynes reported, base revenues into the state's main checkbook account were down \$477 million — 3.6 percent — from receipts in the first half of last fiscal year. At the same time, general funds spending increased \$796 million — 5.8 percent — from expenditures in the first six months of the last budget year.

Moreover, the backlog of unpaid bills in the comptroller's office was more than \$1.8 billion, some \$120 million more than a year ago, and the delay in paying bills was 48 business days, compared with 34 a year ago, both record highs for the midpoint of a fiscal year.

Case in point: A few days before the Illinois House impeached Blagojevich, with everyone wondering whether the vote would be unanimous, hardly anyone took notice of the latest grim diagnosis of the state's fiscal health detailed by Comptroller Daniel Hynes.

The trends suggest revenues will decline for the year, while spending is set to increase significantly, Hynes said. "Without a dramatic change in the economy or spending, it appears that the state will end the fiscal year in dire circumstances," he warned.

How bad? When the previous fiscal year ended June 30, 2008, the state had \$141 million in its checkbook and outstanding bills totaling some \$975 million, resulting in an \$834 million budgetary deficit. That deficit — the fourth largest in history — could pale in comparison to what might face the state this coming June 30, when Hynes says more than \$3 billion might be owed.

"Using \$3 billion of next year's revenue to pay current-year liabilities, with the possibility that next year's revenues could also decline, creates a fiscal situation that may be unmanageable, especially for the fiscal year 2010 budget," he said.

"Unmanageable" is an understatement.

Consider: Current law mandates a \$1.2 billion increase next year in contributions to the five state-funded retirement systems to help pay down a more than \$54 billion shortfall between liabilities and assets, according to the Legislature's Commission on Government Forecasting and Accountability. The FY 2010 contribution is some \$510 million more than calculated just a few months ago, the commission noted, largely because pension system investments took a bath, along with everyone else, last year. The statute is written so that the payment is automatic; even if the budget doesn't include the money, the law requires the comptroller to shift the funds into the retirement accounts.

One doesn't need to be an Einstein to realize that if you have to spend \$1.2 billion more for pensions next year while you're taking in less money than this year, already awash in red ink, the numbers just won't work.

How to manage the fiscal crisis is one of the most daunting tasks facing the 96th General Assembly, sworn in last month.

One tempting step might be to revise the pension payment schedule to reduce the FY 2010 contribution, extending the deadline for reaching a 95 percent funding level for the five systems beyond 2045, as current law envisions.

Yet even if the law were changed and pension payments held steady in the coming year, lawmakers could be hard-pressed to keep current programs going without finding additional revenues. While state officials across the nation are hoping the final version of President Barack Obama's economic stimulus package will include some relief for state budgets, no one expects a bailout of the magnitude Illinois needs. Nor, one would hope, will lawmakers want to embrace more of the smoke-and-mirrors budgeting practices that Blagojevich — with the legislature's connivance — relied on to mask the state's fiscal woes.

So is the time right for wholesale revision of the state's tax structure, including higher income tax rates, an expanded sales tax base, lower property taxes and increased credits for middle- and lower-

income taxpayers, as advocates have been pushing for years?

Conventional wisdom holds that taxes shouldn't be increased during a recession, but some economists argue tax hikes, especially those targeting higher-income individuals, are less harmful to a recovery than cutting programs and services — and thus disposable income — for middle- and lower-income folks.

While fiscal circumstances make a sound argument for revamping the state's tax structure, even during a recession, the political climate is not particularly favorable. Public opinion surveys find voters deeply disenchanted with political leaders of all stripes, and the whole, sad Blagojevich affair has deeply damaged the public trust.

Repairing that breach is the second major challenge for lawmakers this spring, a necessary step if the public is to accept the tax increases that will be required to restore the state to sound fiscal footing without damaging critical services.

A good place for lawmakers to start would be overhauling the state's virtually

anything-goes system of campaign finance. A recurring theme in the federal government's allegations against Blagojevich is that as governor, he was eager to trade jobs, contracts, appointments, regulatory decisions — almost any official act — for campaign cash.

As of January 1, major contributors no longer are eligible for state contracts awarded by the beneficiaries of their largesse. That's a good start toward rooting out the state's "pay-to-play" culture, but more should be done, including imposing reasonable limits on contributions, banning contributions from unions and corporations, and requiring more frequent and detailed disclosure by political committees.

Restoring the state's fiscal health and reviving the public's trust in government are interlinked challenges. How well state leaders respond could determine whether Illinois can move beyond its current notoriety. □

Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting program at the University of Illinois at Springfield.

AVAILABLE
NOW!

THE ILLINOIS GOVERNORS

Mostly Good and Competent

They could be
scoundrels:

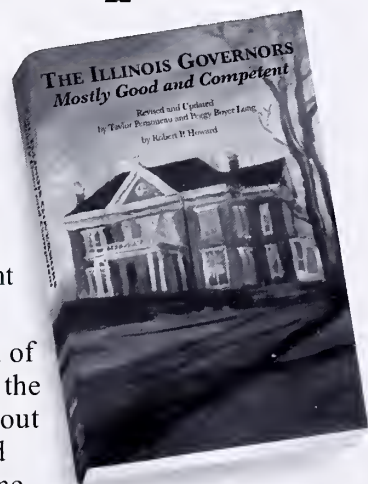
- One just went to prison
- Two served time
- Three beat the rap

But they could be
visionary leaders:

- One freed his slaves
- One helped the new state get free of debt
- One changed the face of modern state government

The Illinois Governors: Mostly Good and Competent introduces you to all of the state's chief executives, from Shadrach Bond to Rod Blagojevich. It builds on the work of **Robert Howard**, the late newspaperman and historian who first wrote about the governors in 1988. **Taylor Pensoneau**, a biographer of Illinois politicians, and **Peggy Boyer Long**, the recently retired executive editor of *Illinois Issues* magazine, have updated the book to include the newest administrations.

To order call 217-206-6502 or visit
<http://cspl.uis.edu/centerpublications>



\$34⁹⁵

plus postage and handling

(\$4.00 first book, \$1.00 for each additional book)

Published by Center Publications, Center for State Policy and Leadership, University of Illinois at Springfield

THE ILLINOIS GOVERNORS

Mostly Good and Competent

The updated edition of this classic book about the Illinois governors concludes that they were a cross section of the political ideas and social attitudes of their times.



Yes, I want to order today

_____ copies x \$34.95.....

plus (# of books x \$2.70 sales tax) + _____

plus postage and handling (\$4.00 first book, \$1.00 for each additional book) + _____

TOTAL _____

Ship to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Bill to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Daytime Phone _____

E-mail _____

Tax exempt? FEIN _____

Payment enclosed Bill me later

Payment enclosed with check payable to UIS/*Illinois Issues*

To order by credit card call the Center Publications office at (217) 206-6502.

One tempting step might be to revise the pension payment schedule to reduce the FY 2010 contribution, extending the deadline for reaching a 95 percent funding level for the five systems beyond 2045, as current law envisions.

Yet even if the law were changed and pension payments held steady in the coming year, lawmakers could be hard-pressed to keep current programs going without finding additional revenues. While state officials across the nation are hoping the final version of President Barack Obama's economic stimulus package will include some relief for state budgets, no one expects a bailout of the magnitude Illinois needs. Nor, one would hope, will lawmakers want to embrace more of the smoke-and-mirrors budgeting practices that Blagojevich — with the legislature's connivance — relied on to

income taxpayers, as advocates have been pushing for years?

Conventional wisdom holds that taxes shouldn't be increased during a recession, but some economists argue tax hikes, especially those targeting higher-income individuals, are less harmful to a recovery than cutting programs and services — and thus disposable income — for middle- and lower-income folks.

While fiscal circumstances make a sound argument for revamping the state's tax structure, even during a recession, the political climate is not particularly favorable. Public opinion surveys find voters deeply disenchanted with political leaders of all stripes, and the whole, sad Blagojevich affair has deeply damaged the public trust.

Repairing that breach is the second major challenge for lawmakers this spring, a necessary step if the public is to

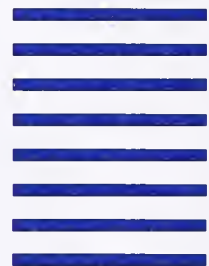
anything-goes system of campaign finance. A recurring theme in the federal government's allegations against Blagojevich is that as governor, he was eager to trade jobs, contracts, appointments, regulatory decisions — almost any official act — for campaign cash.

As of January 1, major contributors no longer are eligible for state contracts awarded by the beneficiaries of their largesse. That's a good start toward rooting out the state's "pay-to-play" culture, but more should be done, including imposing reasonable limits on contributions, banning contributions from unions and corporations, and requiring more frequent and detailed disclosure by political committees.

Restoring the state's fiscal health and reviving the public's trust in government are interlinked challenges. How well state



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 1901 SPRINGFIELD, IL
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

Center Publications
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD
PO Box 19243
Springfield, IL 62794-9980



To order call 217-206-6502 or visit
<http://cspl.uis.edu/centerpublications>

\$34⁹⁵
plus postage and handling
(*\$4.00 first book, \$1.00 for each additional book*)

Published by Center Publications, Center for State Policy and Leadership, University of Illinois at Springfield

Order now!

Delivery in early March

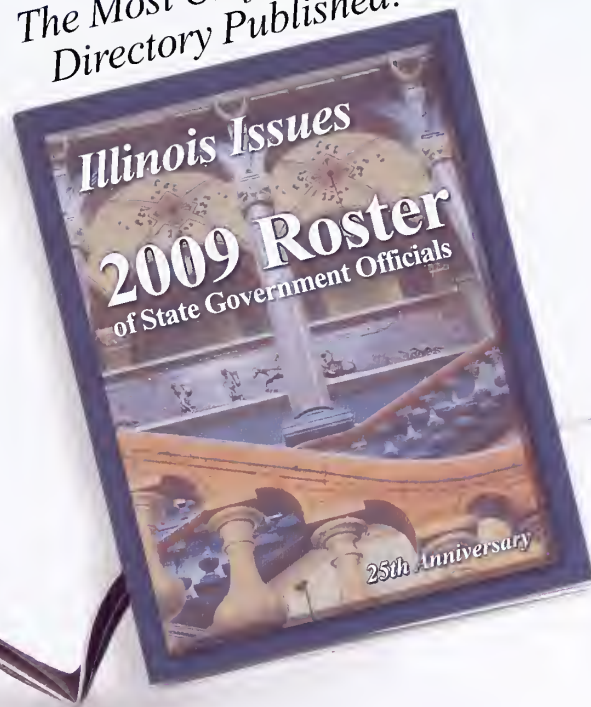
Illinois Issues

2009 Roster of State Government Officials

**ADDRESSES • PHONE NUMBERS • FAX NUMBERS
E-MAIL ADDRESSES • WEB SITE ADDRESSES
PLUS, PHOTOS OF ALL LEGISLATORS, AND MUCH MORE!**

In its 25th year of existence, this 8-1/2 x 11 slick magazine-style *Roster of State Government Officials* fits neatly into your desk drawer or filing cabinet. Completely updated for 2009, it includes listings for the governor and all other statewide constitutional officers, as well as major executive agencies and their directors. You'll find all Illinois legislators and their district addresses, phone numbers, fax numbers, e-mail addresses, and Web sites. Also includes the Illinois Supreme Court, the Illinois congressional delegation, and media/reporters who cover state government. *Plus*, hundreds of key staff members who work with these officials.

*The Most Useful Illinois
Directory Published!*



2009 Roster of State Government Officials

To order:

Call 217/206-6084

E-mail illinoisissues@uis.edu

Online <http://cspl.uis.edu/centerpublications>

**Illinois Issues* subscribers automatically get a FREE copy of the Roster.

PRICE LIST:

NUMBER OF COPIES	COST PER COPY	S&H: TOTAL FOR ORDER
1-10	.....\$6.00	.....\$3.00
11-25	.....\$5.50	.....\$5.00
26-50	.....\$5.00	.....\$7.00
51-99	.....\$4.75	.....\$8.00
100-249	.....\$4.50	.....\$15.00
250+	.....\$3.50	.....\$20.00

To figure sales tax, add 7.75 % to the total, and then add shipping and handling.

Illinois Issues ONLINE!

Check it out at
<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

- Improved Readability
- Easier Site Navigation
- Audio and Video Clips
- Links to In-depth Background
- Color Slideshows
- Comment Board
- **NEW!** Educators Section



FOR UPDATES BETWEEN ISSUES,
COUNT ON THE AWARD-WINNING*

Illinois Issues BLOG

<http://illinoisissuesblog.blogspot.com>

- Major Breaking News Between Issues
- Behind-the-Scenes Analysis
- Reader Comment as the News Happens
- **NEW!** Follow *Illinois Issues* on Twitter!

